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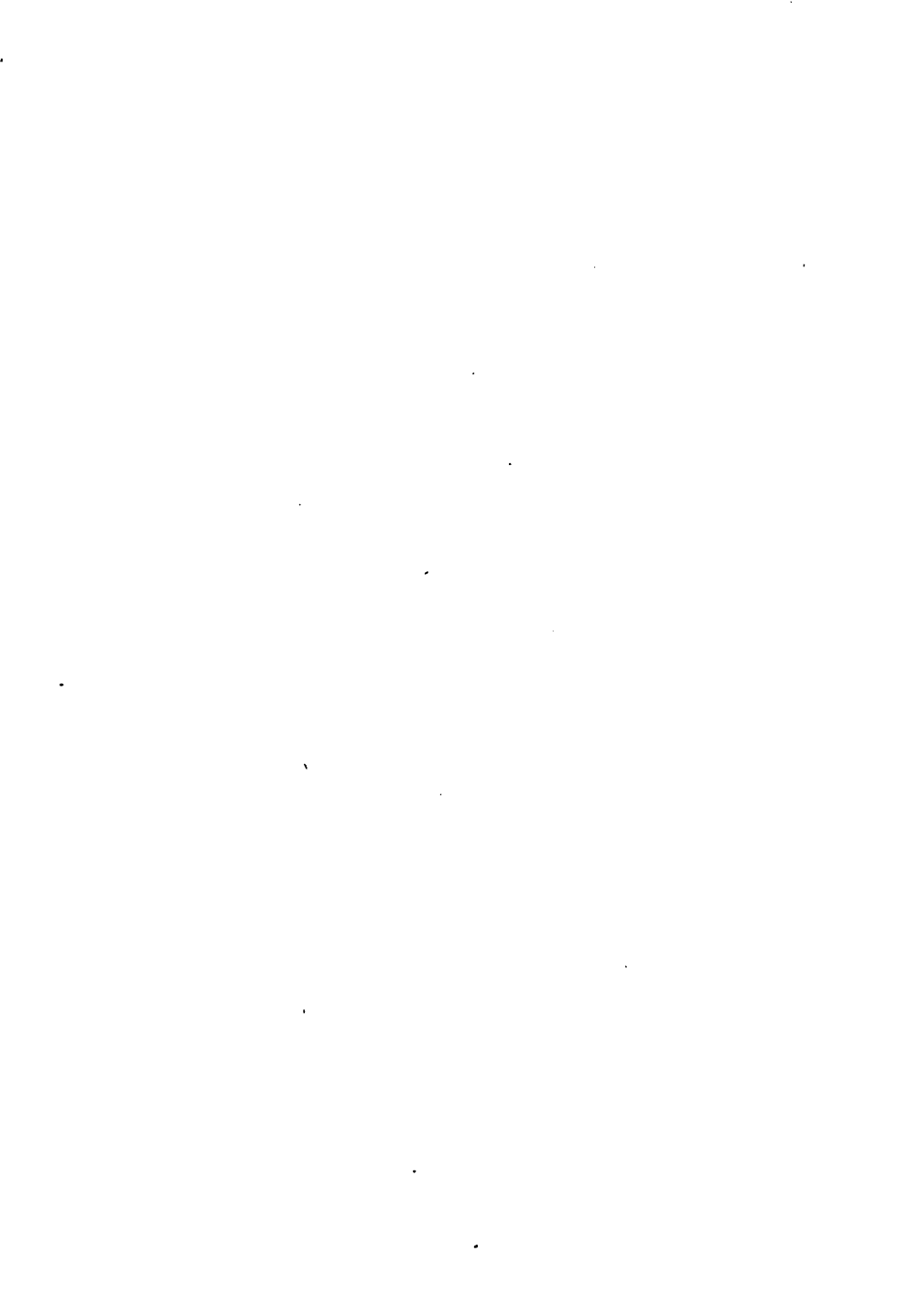
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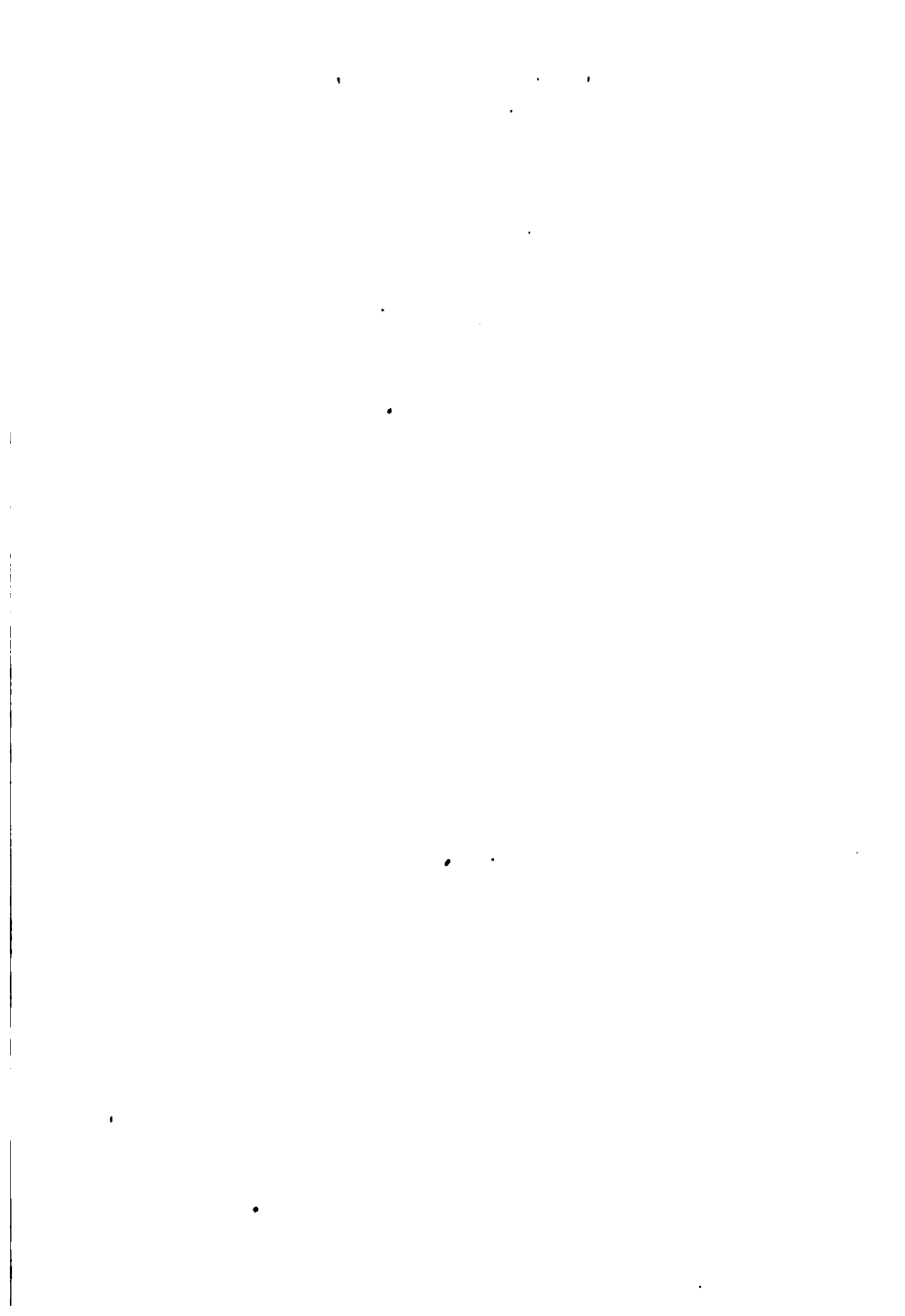
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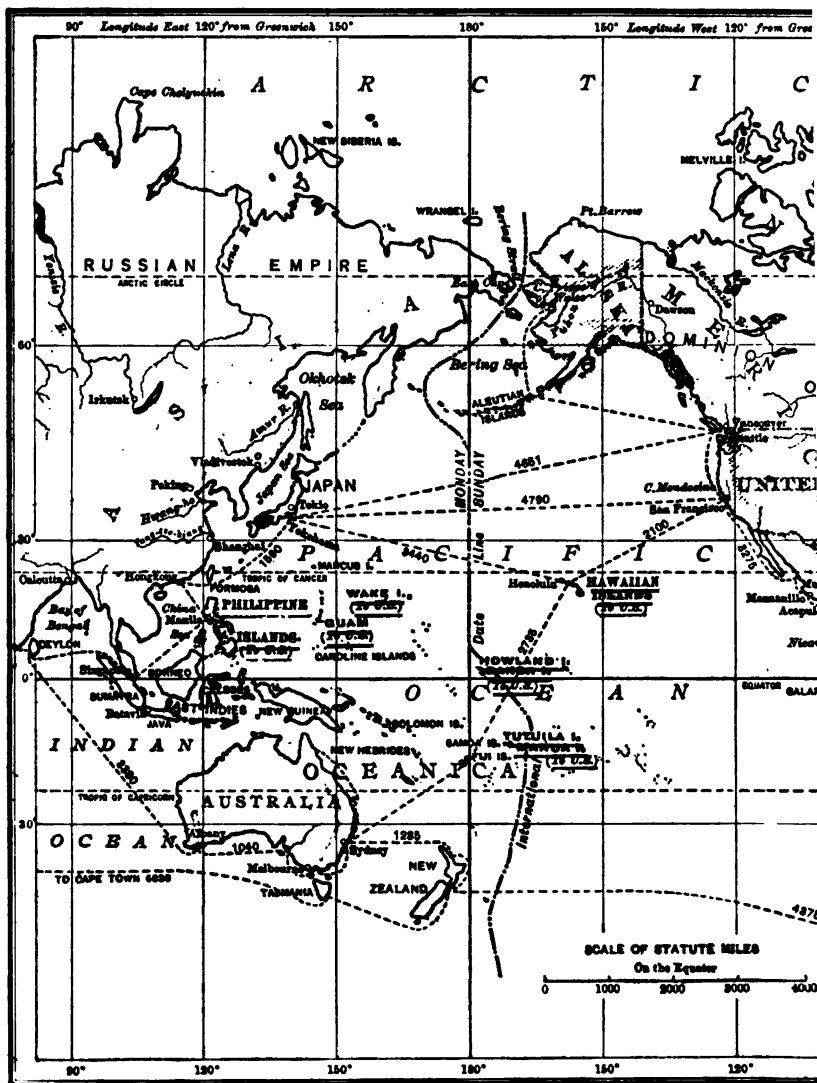


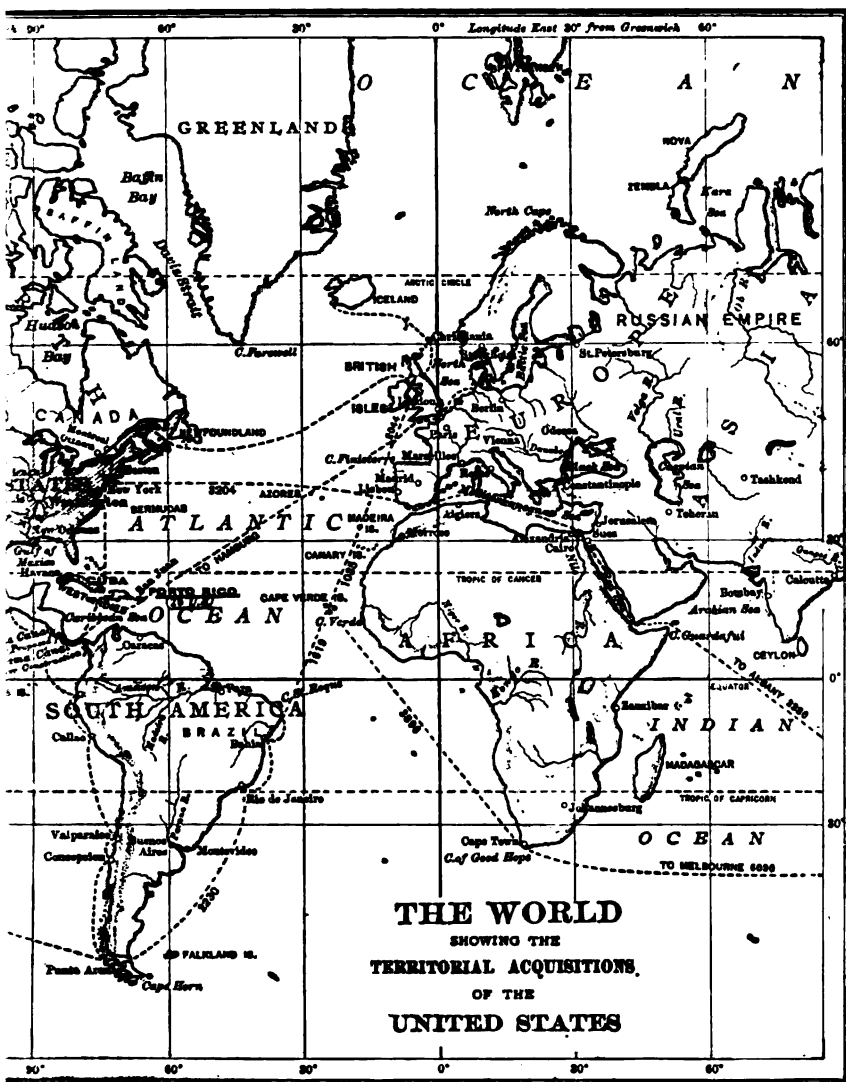
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HIGH-SCHOOL HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES

WITH MAPS, PLANS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BEING A REVISION OF THE
"HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS"

BY

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, LL.D.

Revised and continued by

WINTHROP MORE DANIELS, M.A.

FARTHER REVISED AND CONTINUED BY

WILLIAM MACDONALD, PH.D.

Professor in Bowdoin College



NEW YORK
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1901

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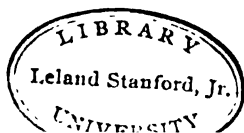
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PREFACE TO THE HIGH-SCHOOL EDITION

IN the present revision of the *History of the United States for Schools*, the aim has been to bring the book up to date and add to its practical usefulness, without sacrificing its essential characteristics or doing violence to the principles on which it was constructed. Some important topics scantily treated in the original have been expanded, and some new topics added, such enlargements being indicated by asterisks after the paragraph numbers. An account of the McKinley Administration, including the Spanish War, replaces the old final chapter. The subject-matter has been further grouped into well-defined periods, and in a few instances rearranged; short paragraphs—even short chapters—have sometimes been combined; and the author's later *Shorter History* has occasionally been drawn upon. The matter formerly printed in small type has been either relegated to foot-notes or incorporated, partly or altogether, with the body of the text, or partly or altogether omitted, as in the case of the formal biographies and State histories. Each chapter has been supplied with topics for further study, in partial substitution for the former questions at the foot of the page, and with a brief bibliography in place of the general bibliography at the end of the volume. These new bibliographies have been restricted to the more helpful references and the titles supplemented by critical comments. Many of the maps have been taken over from the *Shorter History*, and the other illustrations have been carefully revised. Beyond these changes, little has been done except to correct a few errors and to remove some blemishes of style.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, October, 1900.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE "HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS"

So many school histories of the United States are already in existence, and their preparation has been so excellent in the details of idea and execution, that some apology seems to be needed for this addition to their number. The apology will be found, it is hoped, in the special purpose with which this book has been written.

It is submitted that the designs which have usually controlled our school histories are impossible of fulfilment, and, even if possible, would not serve the most useful purpose. There are already in existence books in abundance which tell stories in the manner most attractive to pupils at the most imaginative period of life ; and the pupil's mind, if properly directed by the teacher, will turn to them naturally and derive more satisfaction and instruction from them than can be gained from any school history of usable compass. It hardly seems wise for a school history to force itself into a hopeless competition in a field which has already been so fully preëmpted. History is a task and a method of mental discipline ; our school histories attempt to relieve it, as no one attempts to relieve grammar or arithmetic, by storytelling. One result has been that the history of the comparatively unimportant colonial period has been assigned an inordinately large space. So much room is given to the stories of Smith and Pocahontas, Putnam and the wolf, and similar episodes, that the real history of the United States is cramped, marred, and brought to a lame and impotent conclusion. Judging from the space usually assigned to each, a reader must conclude that the history of the United States deserves a much larger treatment for the time when the United States did not

exist than for the time of its prominence as a nation—for a time when the population was but 200,000 than for the time when the population was 50,000,000.

The reason generally advanced for the transfer of the stirring stories of the past out of the reading book or general reading into the school histories is that they stimulate the minds of pupils to an emulation of the great deeds which are narrated. In isolated cases the reason may be valid; there may have been cases in which the mind of some pupil has been thus stimulated with useful effect. But the mass of pupils have no opportunity to exhibit any such result; their need is to learn from the history of the past how best to perform the simple and homely duties of good citizenship. Very few of the boys in our schools will ever have an opportunity to exhibit, in the foundation of a colony, the patient virtues of the Pilgrim Fathers or the executive ability of John Smith; almost every one of them will soon be called upon to give his conclusion by vote upon questions which involve some understanding of the political, financial, or economic problems of the past. It seems unfair, as well as unwise, to disregard the needs of the great mass in favor of the desires of the very few, especially as the latter will be certain to gratify their desires in a more natural way elsewhere.

In the ordinary school course, no place can well be made for treatises on the duties of citizenship, on political economy, or on finance. Even if they could be introduced, their most valuable portions would consist of deductions from the *events* recorded in a history such as this. The effort to inculcate the lesson with the facts, if applied to the usual school history, would make it hopelessly bulky. Something must be dropped; and it seems unwise to retain the stories where they conflict with far more important matters whose omission the ordinary school course will never supply. The typical schoolboy must get his political, economic, and financial education from his school history of the United States, if he is to get it at all.

The design of this book, then, is not simply to detail the events which make up the history of the United States, but to group those events which seem likely to shed light on the respon-

sibilities of the citizen to the present or future, and to give the student the light in connection with the event. In this process the effort has been made, with caution and with a studied simplicity of language, to interest the pupil in the wonderful development of the United States and the difficult economic problems which have grown out of it. If, in so doing, the peculiar province of the story-writer has been abandoned, the abandonment does not seem to the writer a real sacrifice. Wherever further compression has been necessary, it has been applied at the beginning, at the time when there was no "United States," with the design of giving as much space as possible to our *national* history. And in every place where it has seemed possible, the attention of the pupil has been directed to the peculiar circumstances and limitations of the time under consideration, and to the idea of growth to be attained by a comparison with the present. For much the same reasons, other topics, not essential to the main subject, such as the tribal institutions of the aborigines, and the Spanish conquests of Mexico and Peru, have been left untouched. And, in narrating the wars of the United States, while the effort has been made to give the pupil a definite idea of the purposes, plans, and results of campaigns, it has not seemed best to cumber the narration with a catalogue of engagements and commanders, whose very names are only a spring of confusion to the mind of the pupil.

As the book is not intended to be a story-book, so it is not intended to be a picture-book. Maps in abundance seem to the author the only legitimate embellishment of a school history. While the pictures in this volume have been restricted to illustrations of such persons and things as are pertinent to the text, they have been introduced with regret, and only as a yielding to the present prejudice which denies an effective audience to the school history not so illustrated. It is to be hoped that the time will soon come when the space now surrendered to the graphic additions of the average schoolboy's pencil will be utilized to better purpose.

The commanding position already attained by the United

States, which can only become more overshadowing in the future, has made it evident that the future American citizen must be taught to think more of the responsibilities of the present than of the picturesque events of the past. The enormous political edifice which has appeared in central North America is rising with such increasing swiftness that every good citizen must feel a sense of personal responsibility for its continuance and good management. This volume is an attempt to lead American youth to be "good citizens," in this sense of the phrase; and, whatever defects of execution it may show, the writer is confident that the spirit of the attempt will have the sympathy of every friend of education.

PRINCETON, N. J., June 1, 1885.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

TO THE THIRD EDITION (1897)

The previous editions of this work have undergone a revision at the hands of Prof. W. M. Daniels of Princeton University. The changes made consist in minor alterations in the body of the text; in the substitution of the returns of the Census of 1890 for the earlier figures; and in the addition of two chapters covering the last two Administrations, and a Bibliography.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.—DISCOVERY AND EARLY EXPLORATION: 1492-1540...	1
CHAPTER II.—ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT: 1540-1607.....	13
CHAPTER III.—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH COLONIZA- TION: 1607-1750	22
CHAPTER IV.—THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES: 1620-1750.....	30
Massachusetts Bay Colony.....	30
New Hampshire.....	37
Connecticut.....	37
Rhode Island.....	41
Vermont.....	42
New England in General.....	43
CHAPTER V.—THE SOUTHERN COLONIES: 1607-1750.....	51
Virginia.....	51
Maryland.....	55
North Carolina.....	57
South Carolina.....	60
Georgia.....	62
The Southern Colonies in General.....	64
CHAPTER VI.—THE MIDDLE COLONIES: 1623-1750.....	67
New York.....	67
New Jersey	72
Pennsylvania	73
Delaware.....	76
The Colonies in General.....	76
CHAPTER VII.—THE STRUGGLE FOR ENGLISH SUPREMACY: 1750- 1763.....	83
French Settlement.....	83
The French and Indian War.....	88
State of the Colonies in 1763.....	97
CHAPTER VIII.—COLONIAL RESISTANCE: 1763-1775.....	102
The Stamp Act.....	102
Lexington and Concord.....	113
State of the Colonies in 1775.....	115
CHAPTER IX.—THE REVOLUTION: 1775-1781.....	120

	PAGE
Events at Boston.....	124
Events in Canada	127
Events in England and on the Coast.....	128
Independence.....	130
Events in the Middle States : 1776-1778.....	131
Burgoyne's Expedition, 1777.....	139
Aid from France.....	144
Events in the North after 1778....	146
Events on the Sea.....	153
Events in the South : 1778-1781.....	155
Yorktown, 1781	162
Peace, 1783.....	165
CHAPTER X.—THE CONFEDERATION : 1777-1789.....	171
Failure of the Confederation.....	171
Formation of the Constitution.....	176
State of the Country in 1789.....	183
CHAPTER XI.—FEDERALIST CONTROL : 1789-1801.....	189
Washington's Administrations : 1789-1797.....	189
John Adams's Administration : 1797-1802.....	202
CHAPTER XII.—REPUBLICAN SUPREMACY : 1801-1809.....	210
Jefferson's Administrations : 1801-1809.....	210
Domestic Affairs.....	213
Foreign Affairs.....	217
CHAPTER XIII.—THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN : 1812-14.....	222
Madison's Administrations : 1809-1817.....	222
Failures in the North : 1812-14.....	225
Successes on the Ocean	229
Successes on the Lakes : 1813-14.....	236
Disasters on the Atlantic Coast.....	239
Dissatisfaction at Home.....	241
Successes in the North, 1814	242
Successes in the Southwest : 1813-15.....	243
Peace.....	246
CHAPTER XIV.—SOCIAL AND POLITICAL READJUSTMENT : 1817-28.....	254
Monroe's Administrations : 1817-25.....	254
John Quincy Adams's Administration : 1825-9.....	263
CHAPTER XV.—JACKSON AND VAN BUREN : 1829-41.....	271
Jackson's Administrations : 1829-37.....	271
Political Affairs.....	285
Van Buren's Administration : 1837-41.....	292
CHAPTER XVI.—TEXAS AND THE MEXICAN WAR : 1841-9.....	301
Harrison's and Tyler's Administrations : 1841-5.....	301
Polk's Administration : 1845-9.....	309
Internal Affairs.....	309

	PAGE
Origin of the Mexican War.....	312
Operations on the Pacific.....	315
Operations in Northern Mexico.....	316
Operations in Central Mexico.....	317
Peace.....	321
CHAPTER XVII.—THE STRUGGLE FOR SLAVE TERRITORY: 1849–57.....	327
Taylor's and Fillmore's Administrations: 1849–53.....	327
Pierce's Administration: 1853–7.....	333
Internal Affairs.....	333
Foreign Affairs.....	334
Slavery and Politics.....	336
CHAPTER XVIII.—THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR: 1857–61.....	343
Buchanan's Administration: 1857–61.....	343
Internal Affairs.....	343
Slavery and Politics.....	348
Sectional Division.....	352
Secession.....	354
CHAPTER XIX.—THE WAR FOR THE UNION: 1861–65.....	362
Lincoln's Administration: 1861–65.....	362
Events of 1861.....	362
Events of 1862.....	375
On the Coast.....	381
Events of 1863.....	398
In the East.....	398
In the West.....	400
On the Coast.....	405
Internal Affairs.....	407
Foreign Affairs.....	408
Events of 1864.....	409
In the East.....	409
In the West.....	413
On the Coast.....	418
On the Ocean.....	421
Internal Affairs.....	422
Events of 1865.....	423
Conclusion of the War.....	423
Death of President Lincoln.....	428
Military Summary of the War.....	429
CHAPTER XX.—RECONSTRUCTION.....	440
Johnson's Administration.....	440
Reconstruction.....	441
Impeachment.....	446
Internal Affairs.....	448
Grant's Administrations: 1869–77.....	450

	PAGE
Foreign Affairs.....	450
Internal Affairs.....	452
The End of Reconstruction.....	455
Political Affairs.....	458
CHAPTER XXI.—ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.....	464
Hayes's Administration: 1877-81.....	464
Internal Affairs.....	464
Finances.....	466
Foreign Affairs.....	468
Political Affairs.....	468
Garfield's and Arthur's Administrations: 1881-5.....	469
CHAPTER XXII.—CLEVELAND AND HARRISON.....	475
Cleveland's First Administration: 1885-9.....	475
Harrison's Administration: 1889-93.....	480
Cleveland's Second Administration: 1893-7.....	488
CHAPTER XXIII.—EXPANSION: 1897-1900.....	500
APPENDIX I.—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.....	531
APPENDIX II.—THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.....	535
APPENDIX III.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.....	543
APPENDIX IV.—FORMATION OF THE STATES.....	559
APPENDIX V.—GROWTH OF THE STATES.....	560
APPENDIX VI.—GROWTH OF THE CITIES.....	562
APPENDIX VII.—POPULATION OF THE SECTIONS.....	564
APPENDIX VIII.—CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE SEC- TIONS.....	564
APPENDIX IX.—THE SECTIONS IN 1870-1900.....	565
APPENDIX X.—CABINET OFFICERS OF THE ADMINISTRATIONS.....	567
APPENDIX XI.—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS (EXTRACTS)...	575
INDEX.....	577

MAPS

In the historical maps, the colors show the political divisions at the time the map refers to ; but, to aid in impressing these on the memory, other political divisions, and prominent facts that may not strictly belong to the time, are sometimes indicated in black.

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	FACING PAGE
THE WORLD, SHOWING THE TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.....	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PHYSICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.....	I
EUROPEAN PROVINCES, 1655.....	22
BRITISH CESSIONS TO 1732.....	76
THE UNITED STATES AT THE PEACE OF 1783.....	166
ACQUISITIONS OF TERRITORY (1776-1867).....	214
THE UNITED STATES IN 1830.....	276
THE AREAS OF SECESSION.....	354
THE UNITED STATES IN 1900, EXCLUSIVE OF INSULAR POSSESSIONS	500

UNCOLORED.

	PAGE
COLUMBUS'S VOYAGE.....	6
ATLANTIC DISCOVERIES.....	8
DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION.....	10
ATLANTIC SETTLEMENTS.....	14
MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.....	36
NEW HAMPSHIRE COLONY.....	37
CONNECTICUT COLONY.....	38
RHODE ISLAND COLONY.....	42
EARLY FRENCH WARS.....	47
VIRGINIA COLONY.....	55
MARYLAND.....	56
CAROLINA.....	60
THE MIDDLE COLONIES.....	71
FRENCH FORTS.....	85
THE FRENCH WAR.....	95
THE REVOLUTION IN NEW ENGLAND.....	124
BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.....	125
CAMPAIGN IN MIDDLE STATES.....	133

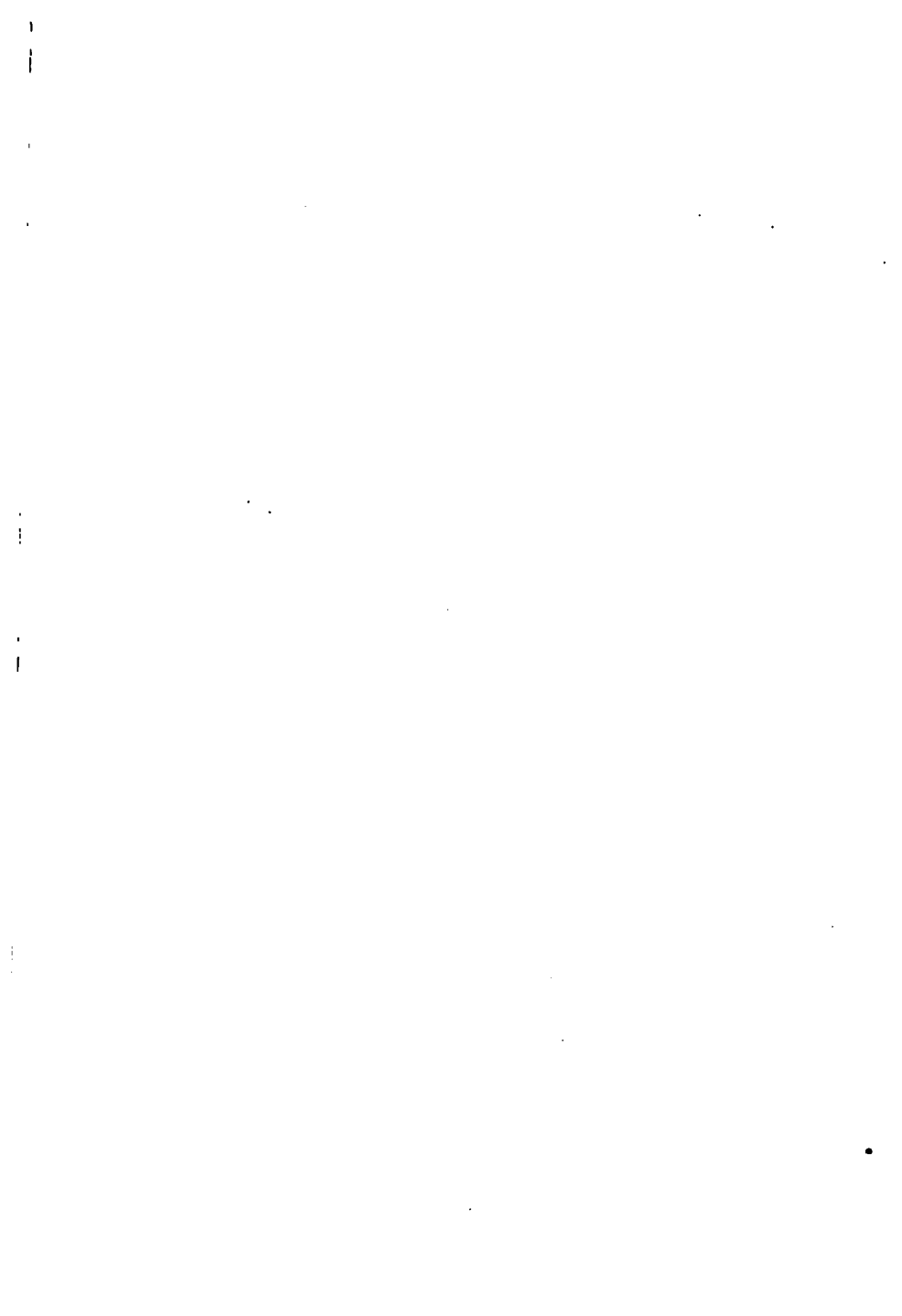
	PAGE
CAPTURE AND EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA.....	186
BURGOYNE'S EXPEDITION.....	141
THE BRITISH ISLES.....	154
REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.....	156
THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN.....	163
MAIN MOVEMENTS OF BRITISH TROOPS BY LAND AND SEA.....	164
BARBARY STATES.....	217
OPERATIONS ON THE LAKES.....	227
ATTACK ON WASHINGTON—COURSE OF THE BRITISH.....	240
NIAGARA FRONTIER.....	243
EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS.....	245
SEMINOLE WAR.....	283
WAR WITH MEXICO.....	313
SCOTT'S MARCH TO MEXICO.....	319
FORT SUMTER AND CHARLESTON HARBOR.....	364
OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA.....	369
WASHINGTON AND VICINITY.....	372
OPERATIONS IN THE WEST.....	378
HAMPTON ROADS.....	382
NEW ORLEANS.....	384
OPERATIONS IN THE EAST.....	387
SEVEN DAYS' BATTLES.....	391
FIRST INVASION OF THE NORTH.....	393
SECOND INVASION OF THE NORTH.....	399
THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.....	401
MURFREESBORO TO ATLANTA.....	405
OPERATIONS IN THE EAST.....	410
SHERMAN'S MARCH.....	417
ON THE COAST.....	419
OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA.....	424
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.....	511
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.....	520
PORTO RICO.....	523

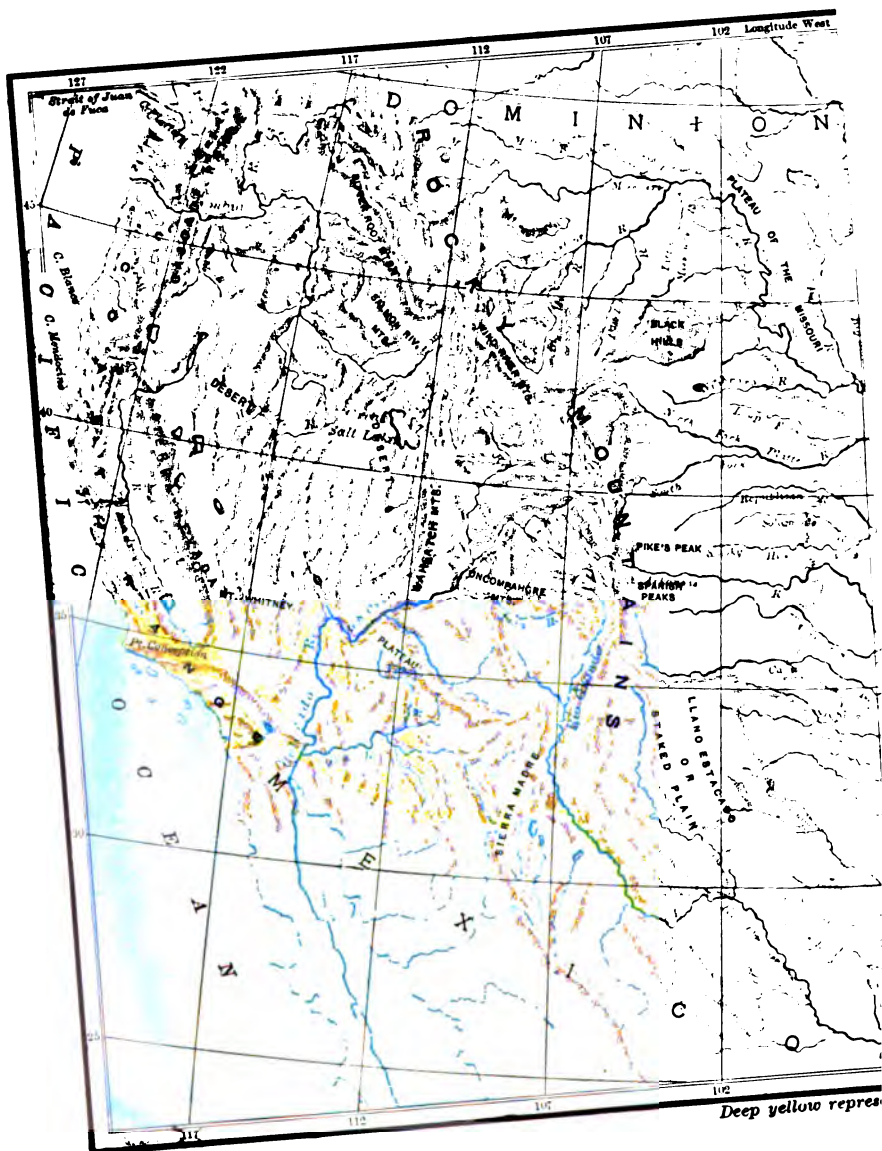
ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
SECTION OF BEHAIM'S GLOBE.....	3
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS	4
THE CARAVELS OF COLUMBUS	5
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.....	16
HENRY HUDSON.....	19
THE MAYFLOWER.....	31
GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP.....	33
SITE OF BOSTON IN 1620.....	35
CHARTER OAK.....	40
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.....	52
PETER STUYVESANT.....	68
NEW YORK CITY IN 1656.....	70
WILLIAM PENN.....	75
SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.....	84
WILLIAM PITT.....	91
JAMES WOLFE.....	92
QUEBEC.....	93
BRITISH STAMP.....	103
PATRICK HENRY.....	104
GEORGE III.....	106
FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.....	107
JOHN HANCOCK.....	108
CARPENTER'S HALL.....	121
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.....	123
UNION FLAG.....	126
RATTLESNAKE FLAG.....	127
PHILIP SCHUYLER.....	128
LIBERTY BELL.....	131
INDEPENDENCE HALL IN 1776.....	132
MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.....	137
GEN. JOHN BURGOYNE.....	140
HORATIO GATES.....	143
CONTINENTAL MONEY.....	149
ANTHONY WAYNE.....	151

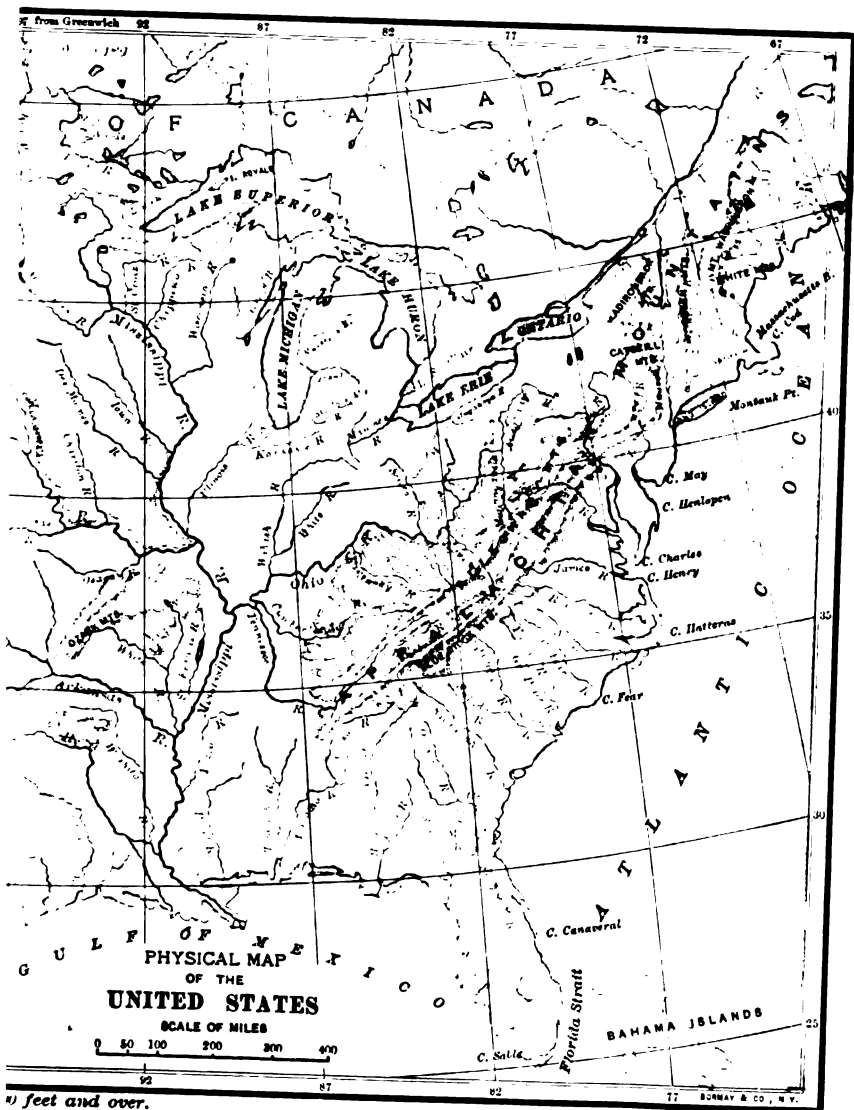
	PAGE
JOHN ANDRÉ.....	152
JOHN PAUL JONES.....	153
NATHANIEL GREENE.....	159
STATE-HOUSE AT ANNAPOLIS.....	177
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.....	182
WASHINGTON.....	188
MOUNT VERNON.....	199
FITCH'S STEAMBOAT.....	200
CINCINNATI IN 1787 (FORT WASHINGTON).....	201
JOHN ADAMS.....	203
THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.....	206
THOMAS JEFFERSON.....	212
ROBERT FULTON.....	215
JAMES MADISON.....	222
AMERICAN GUNBOAT.....	232
JAMES LAWRENCE.....	233
OLIVER H. PERRY.....	237
THOMAS MACDONOUGH.....	238
JAMES MONROE.....	254
JOHN C. CALHOUN.....	263
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.....	264
HENRY CLAY.....	267
ANDREW JACKSON.....	272
EARLY RAILROAD TRAIN.....	273
CHICAGO IN 1830—FORT DEARBORN.....	275
BRYANT, WHITTIER, LONGFELLOW, HOLMES.....	278
HAWTHORNE, IRVING, POE, COOPER.....	280
DANIEL WEBSTER.....	281
MARTIN VAN BUREN.....	293
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.....	302
JOHN TYLER.....	302
SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.....	306
JAMES K. POLK.....	309
THE HOE PRINTING-MACHINE.....	310
ANCIENT HAND PRINTING-PRESS.....	310
WINFIELD SCOTT.....	318
ZACHARY TAYLOR.....	327
MILLARD FILLMORE.....	327
SALMON P. CHASE.....	331
FRANKLIN PIERCE.....	333
CHARLES SUMNER.....	340
JAMES BUCHANAN.....	343
LOWELL, EMERSON, PARKMAN, MOTLEY.....	346
KING COTTON.....	349

	PAGE
SECESSION HALL.....	355
SECESSION COCKADE.....	355
JEFFERSON DAVIS.....	356
ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.....	358
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.....	362
FORT SUMTER.....	365
GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.....	370
ULYSSES S. GRANT.....	373
ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON.....	376
WESTERN GUNBOATS.....	380
CONFEDERATE RAM.....	381
JOHN ERICSSON.....	382
THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC.....	383
DAVID G. FARRAGUT.....	385
JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.....	388
ROBERT E. LEE.....	389
THOMAS J. JACKSON.....	390
AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE.....	394
THE ALABAMA.....	397
GEORGE G. MEADE.....	400
W. T. SHERMAN.....	414
GEORGE H. THOMAS.....	416
PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.....	426
SIGNATURES OF GRANT AND LEE.....	426
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.....	429
ANDREW JOHNSON.....	440
EDWIN M. STANTON.....	447
R. B. HAYES.....	465
JAMES A. GARFIELD.....	470
CHESTER A. ARTHUR.....	470
GROVER CLEVELAND.....	475
BENJAMIN HARRISON.....	480
WILLIAM MCKINLEY.....	500





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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY AND EARLY EXPLORATION

1492-1540

1. The United States of America cover the central portion of North America, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. Four hundred years ago this territory was unknown to men of the Eastern Hemisphere. Its lakes, rivers, and mountains were just as we know them now; and the face of the country has changed very little, except in the disappearance of the forests. But the great cities, the railroads, the telegraphs, and all the works of civilized man were lacking. The territory has been changed from a wilderness to the abode of one of the most powerful nations of the earth; and the story of this change is the history of the United States of America.

2. The Inhabitants of America, when the country was discovered by Europeans, were copper-colored savages, to whom Columbus gave the name of Indians, because he thought that he had found the eastern coast of Asia, or India. The Indians built no cities or towns, made no great inventions, had no written language, and led a rude and wandering life. Their chief business and pleasure were in war and hunting, the women doing the work of the wigwam and the field. Whence the Indians came we do not know. Only in Mexico and Peru did the European

explorers find anything resembling permanent communities or orderly governments.

3. The Indians have been gradually pushed back from the coast by the white settlers, until now they are almost all beyond the Mississippi, controlled and cared for by the Government of the United States. When America was discovered the Indians were grouped in tribes, though there was no exact boundary line between the countries of different tribes. The Indians of the Atlantic coast were generally Algonquins; the names of some of their tribes are preserved in our names of places, such as Narragansett, Massachusetts, and the Indian names of Maine. The Indians of the interior or Middle States were Iroquois; their strongest branch was a confederacy in New York, called the Six Nations, composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras (§ 95). On the other side of the Iroquois, along the Mississippi, there were other Alonquins, some of whom, as the Shawnees, Peorias, Pottawattomies, Sacs, and Foxes, still survive in the Indian Territory across the Mississippi; while others, as the Illinois, are remembered only by names of places. The tribes of the south, Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and others, were kindred to the Iroquois. Their descendants are also in the Indian Territory.

4. Europe had advanced so far in civilization, about the year 1450, that its people were prepared to discover and conquer a new world. They had discovered the use of gunpowder, which made them superior to peoples who did not possess it; of the mariner's compass, which enabled them to sail out of sight of land, and thus discover new countries; and of printing by movable types, which made books abundant, and thus spread the news of discoveries. Many of them had come to believe that the earth was

round, though nobody suspected that there was a great continent between western Europe and eastern Asia. Portuguese sailors were exploring the west coast of Africa,



SECTION OF BEHAIM'S GLOBE.¹

and one of them, in 1486, succeeded in reaching the Cape of Good Hope. Everywhere men were beginning to think and talk of geographical discovery; and the man who was to make the greatest of modern discoveries was already planning it.

5. Christopher Columbus, a sailor of Genoa, in Italy, had led from his youth a seafaring life, and had come to the conclusion that the earth was round, and that he

¹ "It has always been supposed that in the well-known globe of Martin Behaim we get in the main an expression of the views held by Toscanelli, Columbus, and others of Behaim's contemporaries, who espoused the notion of India lying over against Europe."—*Winsor's History of America*.

could reach the Indies, or eastern Asia, by sailing westward part of the distance around the world. He had no money to fit out ships, and when he asked for money from Genoa, Portugal, England, and Spain, they refused it. Finally Queen Isabella of Spain supplied him with money enough to fit out three small vessels. The largest of them would hardly be thought safe for a sea-voyage at present.

6. Columbus's First Voyage began at Palos, in Spain (August 3, 1492). As far as the Canary Islands the way was well known. Thence he sailed out into the west on



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

a way that no man had ever sailed before. His men became frightened and rebellious as the days passed by without the sight of land, but he induced them to press onward. On the morning of October 12, the sailors saw before them one of the Bahamas (probably Watling's

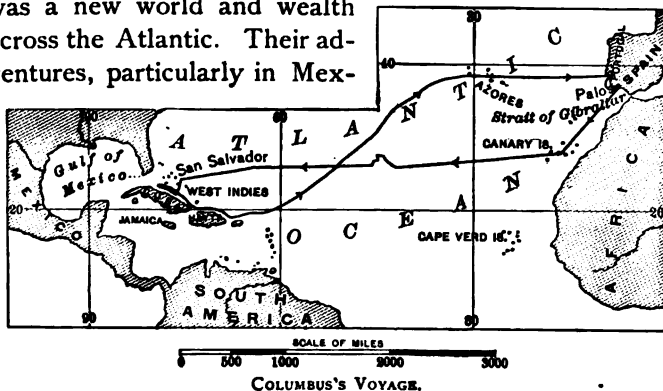


THE CARAVELS OF COLUMBUS.

(Page 5.)

Island), to which Columbus gave the name of San Salvador. Sailing slowly south and southeast for several months, he explored the West Indies to their north-east corner. Then his little fleet spread its sails and returned to Europe, carrying unknown men and specimens of plants as proofs that a new world had been discovered.

7. Columbus's Discovery caused a great excitement in Europe, as the printing-press scattered the news of it. Spanish ships, with soldiers and sailors, at once began to sail boldly westward, now that it was known that there was a new world and wealth across the Atlantic. Their adventures, particularly in Mex-



ico and Peru, make up a wonderful and interesting story, but it does not fall within the limits of our own history. Before many years had passed, Spain had conquered for itself nearly all South America, and that part of North America which is now called Mexico. But the Spaniards paid little attention to the territory which now belongs to the United States, preferring countries where gold and silver were easily obtained.

8. Four Voyages in all were made by Columbus, but without any further great discovery. He was treated

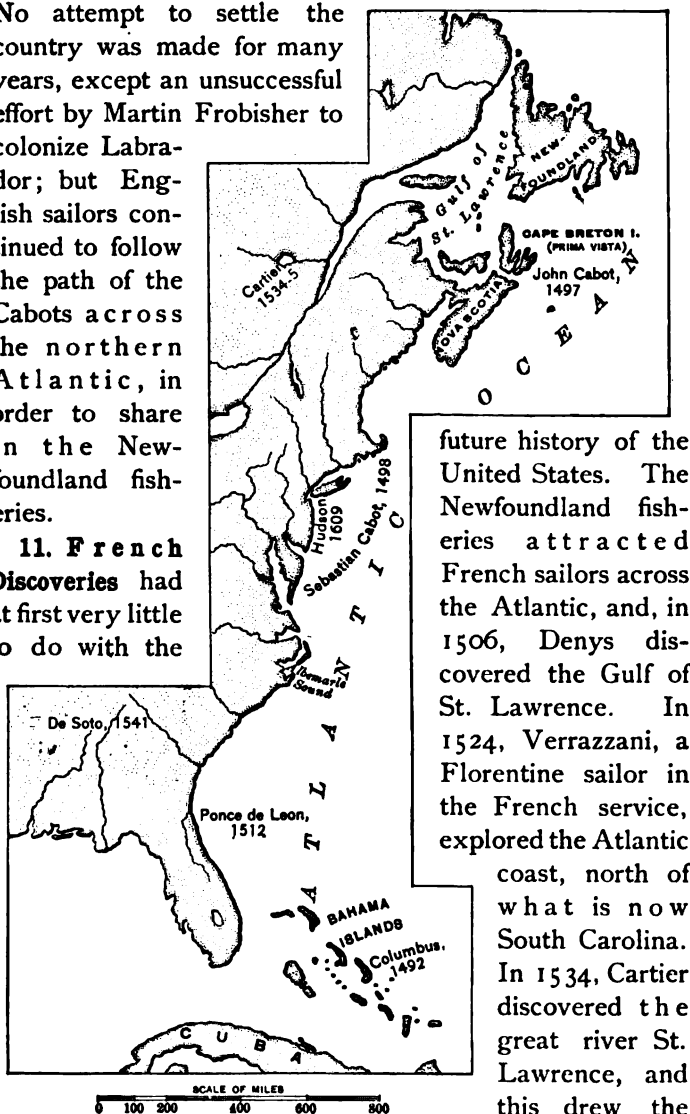
unkindly by Ferdinand, king of Spain, and on one occasion was sent home in chains by one of the king's officials. He never touched on the continent of North America, though on his third voyage, in 1498, he landed on the continent of South America, near the Orinoco River. He died without knowing that he had discovered a new world, but still supposing that he had only reached the East Indies. The world which he had discovered was not named for him. It was called America, from Amerigo Vespucci (in Latin *Americus Vespucius*), a merchant and traveller of Florence, who was the first to describe it as a separate continent. Before this happened, the native inhabitants were generally called Indians, from the belief that their country was the Indies; and the name has been retained.

9. Spanish Discoveries soon made known that part of the coast of North America which lies on the Gulf of Mexico and the southern Atlantic. In 1512, Ponce de Leon discovered the coast of what is now eastern Florida, giving it the name of Florida because he discovered it on Easter Sunday, called in Spanish *Pascua Florida*. In 1520, Ayllon explored the coast of what is now South Carolina; and in 1528, Narvaez explored the northwest coast of Florida, along the Gulf of Mexico.

10. English Discoveries were the ones which had the most to do with the country which is now the United States. John Cabot, a merchant of Venice, in Italy, then living in Bristol, England, and his son Sebastian, fitted out a ship, the *Matthew*, which in 1497 discovered land in the region of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They called it *Prima Vista* ("first sight"). In 1498, Sebastian Cabot explored the whole Atlantic coast from Cape Breton to Albemarle Sound, and claimed it for England.

No attempt to settle the country was made for many years, except an unsuccessful effort by Martin Frobisher to colonize Labrador; but English sailors continued to follow the path of the Cabots across the northern Atlantic, in order to share in the Newfoundland fisheries.

11. French Discoveries had at first very little to do with the



future history of the United States. The Newfoundland fisheries attracted French sailors across the Atlantic, and, in 1506, Denys discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1524, Verrazzani, a Florentine sailor in the French service, explored the Atlantic coast, north of what is now South Carolina. In 1534, Cartier discovered the great river St. Lawrence, and this drew the

ATLANTIC DISCOVERIES.

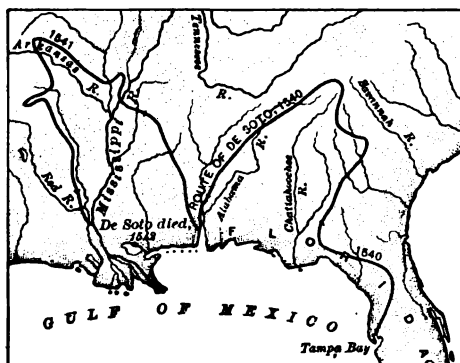
French off in that direction, so that whatever discoveries they made were made in Canada (§ 19).

12. Portugal and Spain had made an agreement in 1493, by which Portugal was not to interfere with Spain in America, and Spain was not to interfere with Portugal in Africa or the East Indies. Portugal, therefore, took no part in American discovery, except that Cortereal, a Portuguese sailor, explored the Atlantic coast, in 1501, from Maine to Newfoundland. The maritime nations of western Europe were then Spain, England, France, and Portugal; no other nation was at all likely to attempt settlements in America. Holland was then subject to Spain, and attempted no settlements until it had become independent (§ 28). Italy and Germany were then divided into many weak states; and Sweden was not strong enough to dispute the new continent with the great nations (§ 29).

13. The Interior of North America was not touched by any of the discoveries above mentioned. Some of the Spanish governors of Mexico sent expeditions northward into what is now New Mexico and California; but they accomplished little. The only important effort to explore the interior, before the English colonies began to grow inward from the coast, was the remarkable expedition of De Soto.

14. De Soto was the Spanish governor of Cuba. In 1539, he landed at Tampa Bay, in Florida, with a force of about 600 men, and marched through the continent for three years, vainly hoping to find and conquer a rich Indian kingdom. He went north nearly to the Tennessee River, then southerly to where Mobile now stands, and thence northwesterly to the Mississippi River, which he crossed in April, 1541, near the present southern boundary of Tennessee. He marched westward for several hundred

miles across the present State of Arkansas, but found everywhere only savages wandering in a wilderness. All



SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION.

this time, it was De Soto's courage which had kept up the courage of the men, but even De Soto's courage gave out at length, and he began to move southward on the way home. He died, worn out, on the banks of the Mississippi, near the mouth of

the Red River, and was buried beneath the waters of the great river which he had discovered. His soldiers then built boats, and sailed down the river to the Gulf of Mexico, and so to Mexico, which the Spaniards had conquered in 1521.

15. The Pacific Coast was explored in 1543 by Cabrillo and Ferelo, two Spaniards, as far north as Oregon. In 1579, Drake, an English navigator, sailed along the coast and called it New Albion. In 1592, Juan de Fuca, a Spanish pilot, explored the coast as far as the strait which bears his name. The territory remained under the control of Spain, and a few settlements were made by Spanish missionaries; but little was known about the country until it became a part of the United States in 1848 (§ 544.)

16. The Discoveries of Spain, England, France, and Portugal have been given separately above. They may be collected, as follows:

(S., Spanish; E., English; F., French; P., Portuguese.)

ATLANTIC COAST.

1492—Columbus (S.): West Indies.....	§ 6
1497—Cabots (E.): Cape Breton Island.....	10
1498—Sebastian Cabot (E.): Albemarle Sound to Cape Breton Island.....	10
1501—Cortereal (P.): Maine to Newfoundland.....	12
1506—Denys (F.): Gulf of St. Lawrence.....	11
1512—Ponce de Leon (S.): Florida.....	9
1520—Ayllon (S.): South Carolina.....	9
1524—Verrazzani (F.): South Carolina to Nova Scotia..	11
1534—Cartier (F.): River St. Lawrence.....	11

GULF OF MEXICO.

1528—Narvaez (S.): Northwestern Florida.....	9
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PACIFIC COAST.

1543—Cabrillo (S.): Pacific coast to Oregon.....	15
1579—Drake (E.): Pacific coast.....	15
1592—De Fuca (S.): Pacific coast to British America....	15

INTERIOR.

1540—Coronado (S.): New Mexico.....	13
1540—Alarçon (S.): Colorado River.....	13
1541—De Soto: Mississippi River and Southern States..	13

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. The personal appearance of a typical Indian.
2. The character of Columbus.
3. The reasons for the activity of Spain in explorations.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—Extracts from the Sagas, describing the supposed voyages to Vinland, are given in *American History Leaflets*, No. 3; the same series, No. 1, gives the letter of Columbus to Santangel announcing his discovery. There are various extracts from documents in Higginson's *American Explorers*.

NARRATIVE WORKS.—The best general account of the events included in this chapter is Fiske's *Discovery of America*. There

are lives of Columbus by Irving and Winsor. Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* is especially detailed for this period, and is rich in geographical matter. Bryant and Gay's *Popular History of the United States* covers the whole course of American history from the discovery of the continent. Bancroft's *United States* and Hildreth's *United States* begin with 1492, as does Doyle's *English in America*; but these works deal briefly with the period of discovery and exploration. On the Spanish conquest, Helps's *Spanish Conquest of America*, and H. H. Bancroft's *Mexico and Central America*, are perhaps the most useful extended works. Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru* are well known, but must be corrected by later works. A good popular account is Higginson's *American Explorers*. On the aborigines, see Bancroft's *Native Races*.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—Longfellow's *Hiawatha*; Lowell's *Voyage to Vinland* and *Columbus*; Cooper's *Mercedes of Castile*; Lew Wallace's *Fair God*; W. G. Simms's *Damsel of Darien*, *Vasconselos*, and *Lily and Totem*; Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*

CHAPTER II

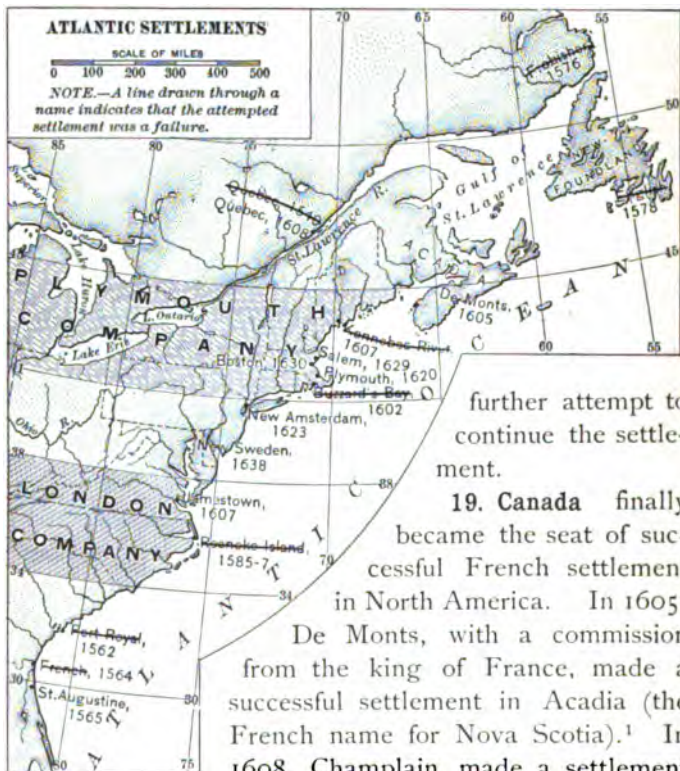
ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT

1540 1607

17. The Discoveries which we have been considering had made the Atlantic coast of North America pretty well known before the year 1530, but settlement did not begin until some seventy years later. Spain did not seem inclined to settle this part of the continent. Our two oldest towns, at present, St. Augustine, in Florida (founded in 1565), and Santa Fé, in New Mexico (founded in 1582), were originally Spanish settlements, but were not in the territory of the United States when our national history began. France and England made a number of unsuccessful attempts to found settlements before England at last succeeded in getting control of the coast. We will first consider the failures.

18. French Failures began in 1540, when Cartier, who had discovered the St. Lawrence River in 1534 (§ 11), made a settlement at Quebec; but it was given up after the second winter. French vessels still sailed up the St. Lawrence from time to time, but for sixty years the people in France made no further attempt to found a settlement here. In 1562 and 1564, French settlements were attempted on the southern Atlantic coast, but without success. The first was at Port Royal; but the colonists became discouraged, left for home, and came near starving on the voyage. The second, near where

St. Augustine now stands, was too near the Spanish possessions, and the Spaniards destroyed it. Another French expedition took revenge on the Spaniards, but made no



further attempt to continue the settlement.

19. Canada finally became the seat of successful French settlement in North America. In 1605,

De Monts, with a commission from the king of France, made a successful settlement in Acadia (the French name for Nova Scotia).¹ In 1608, Champlain made a settlement at Quebec. Other Frenchmen settled

along the St. Lawrence, and took possession of what is now the Dominion of Canada. It remained a French possession until 1763 (§ 154), and the descendants of the old settlers are still known as French-Canadians.

¹ De Monts also made efforts to settle within the limits of what is now New England, but failed. The French did not begin permanent settlements within the territory of the present United States until about 1668 (§ 137).

20. English Failures.—For nearly a century after Columbus's discovery, the English did little in support of the claims which the Cabots had made for them, except that an English captain, Martin Frobisher, searching for gold, made an unsuccessful attempt to found a settlement in the cold and barren region called Labrador. After a time, England and Spain drifted into war; and while Elizabeth was queen of England, English sailors like Drake (§ 15) were fighting the Spaniards on every sea. Most of these were little better than pirates. One brave and pious gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, saw that the American fisheries had more real value than any war could have; and he undertook to make a settlement in Newfoundland. His first attempt (1578) was a failure; but he made another attempt, with five ships, five years afterward. His men were ungovernable, and he was compelled to return, taking for himself the smallest and weakest vessel of the five. A violent storm arose; Gilbert was besought to go on board of a larger vessel; but he refused to desert his men, saying manfully, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." So they left the Admiral, sitting at the stern of his vessel, "reading a book." During the night, the watchers on the other ships suddenly saw the lights of his vessel go out, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert disappeared from history.

21. The Northwest Passage continued for a long time to be one of the great objects of the early English and Dutch voyages. The Portuguese claimed the sea-route from Europe to the East Indies, around Africa (§ 4). The Spaniards claimed the route around South America, which Magellan had discovered in 1520. It was supposed either that North America was not very broad, or that it was a collection of islands, like the West Indies, and the English hoped to find a passage for themselves through it

to the Pacific Ocean. In 1609, Hudson (§ 28) sailed up the river which bears his name until he ran aground, hoping every hour to sail out into the Pacific. In 1850, Captain McClure at last found a "northwest passage" through the Arctic Ocean, but the ice makes it useless (§ 783). Long before this, however, the Spaniards and Portuguese had been compelled to give up their asserted right to prevent ships of other nations from using the ocean route around Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope.

22. Raleigh.—Brave men were plenty in England, and Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, next took



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

up the work. Wonderful stories are told of Raleigh, of his wit, his learning, his never-failing courtesy, which made friends for him everywhere; of the liking which Elizabeth had for him; of the dislike which her successor, King James I., felt for him; of the manliness which he showed through thirteen years of imprisonment, and at his final execution.

The common story is that

he introduced into England, from the American Indians, the practice of smoking tobacco; and that one of his servants, seeing him smoking and thinking him on fire, threw a pitcher of beer on him to put out the fire; but it is quite certain that tobacco was used in England before Raleigh's time. He has, however, a better claim to our remembrance. He was the father of English colonization in America. He himself was never in

North America; but he made every effort to make settlements there; he talked and wrote of the importance of such settlements; and he was the man who did most to set Englishmen thinking of it, and to prepare the way for final colonization.

23. Raleigh's Colonies.—The colonies which Raleigh sent out landed on the coast of the present State of North Carolina. Two of his vessels found a place for a colony on Roanoke Island (1584). Raleigh named the whole coast Virginia, in honor of Queen Elizabeth, who was unmarried and was fond of being called the "Virgin Queen," and the name is still given to a part of it, the present State of Virginia. A colony was sent out the next year, but careful preparation had not been made, and the colony was starved out in a year. Another colony was sent out under White (1587). It began well. White's granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents born within the present limits of the United States, was so named because the colonists believed that the great colony of Virginia had now been begun. No one knows what calamity happened; but when the colony was searched for three years afterward, it had disappeared, and no trace of the hundred or more persons who perished was ever found. This failure exhausted Raleigh's money for the time.

24. Bartholomew Gosnold, in 1602, found a new route across the Atlantic, by the Azores Islands, which saved 1500 miles in distance. He made a settlement in what is now called Buzzard's Bay, in Massachusetts; but his men lost courage, and he returned with a ship-load of sassafras. At this time, more than a century after Columbus's discovery, there was not an English settler in all North America; but English trading and fishing vessels were often seen along the coast, and their ac-

counts of the country kept alive the English desire for American settlements.

25. English Settlement took a new form in 1606, under King James I. Two great companies were formed, one at London, called the London Company, the other at Plymouth, called the Plymouth Company. To the London Company the king granted the coast of North America from latitude 34° to latitude 41° ; that is, from about Cape Fear to the mouth of the Hudson River. To the Plymouth Company he gave the coast from latitude 38° to 45° ; that is, from the Rappahannock River to the eastern point of Maine. The coast between the Rappahannock and the Hudson was thus granted to both companies; but neither was to fix a colony within 100 miles of any colony already planted by the other. There was no western boundary to the grants, which were supposed to extend across the continent to the Pacific Ocean.

26. Successful Settlement began with the formation of the companies, the first successful colony being established at Jamestown in Virginia, in 1607 (§ 76). The first attempts had failed because of natural difficulties. A few people, placed in a wilderness, with 3000 miles of stormy ocean between them and help of any kind, and without protection of any sort from hostile Indians, soon died from accident or disease, or were forced to return to England. But the new companies were richer, and were able to send out colonies large enough and well enough equipped to protect themselves from the beginning; and when this had been done, many of the difficulties disappeared. Every year a greater number of persons came to America, to get land for nothing and to escape poverty or persecution at home; and it was not long before the coast was dotted with little settlements, and a few persons began to press inland.

27. The Colonization of the United States also begins with the formation of these companies. The territory granted to the companies was gradually cut up into separate colonies, and new colonies were formed to the southward. Thus there came to be, in time, thirteen English colonies, Virginia and Massachusetts being the remnants of the first grants to the two companies, after the other colonies had been cut out of them. In making these first grants, the king had been careful to avoid the territories of the Spaniards on the south, and the French on the north; and it thus happened that the English colonies in North America were planted near together, and within the present limits of the United States. The advantages of this were that it placed an enterprising and ambitious people in the best part of the continent, where the climate was neither too hot nor too cold; and that it gave them the opportunity to unite in future and grow into a great nation.

28. Holland had rebelled against Spain, about the time of the first English failures (§ 20), and had become a strong naval power. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of Holland, discovered the Hudson River, and explored the coast as far as Chesapeake Bay more closely than previous voyagers had done. Dutch traders at once sent vessels to Manhattan Island (now New York City), to trade with the Indians; and in 1621, Holland granted the territory from Delaware Bay to the Connecticut River to the Dutch West India Com-



HENRY HUDSON.

pany. This company established the city of New Amsterdam (now New York) in 1623, and called the whole territory New Netherland.¹ For the next forty years, this continued to be a Dutch colony, set in between English colonies to the north and to the south of it. It was then conquered by the English (§ 109).

29. Sweden, without any claims by discovery, fixed a colony in what is now the State of Delaware, in 1638. Its leader was Peter Minuit, who had been a Dutch governor of New Netherland, but had gone over to the service of Sweden. The chief town of this colony was Christina, near the present city of Wilmington. In 1655, a Dutch force from New Amsterdam compelled the Swedes to acknowledge themselves under the government of Holland; and the colony finally passed under English rule, with the rest of New Netherland (§ 109). It was later transferred to Penn (§ 121).

30. Summary.—We have thus traced the steps by which England established her colonies on the Atlantic coast of North America. Spain had chosen the territory to the south, and France the territory to the north; while the territory between them fell to England. At first, England had Holland and Sweden as rivals; but these were not strong enough to resist her; and the whole Atlantic coast, from Florida to Nova Scotia, finally became English. The dates of the more important steps in the settlement are as follows:

(Sp., Spanish; E., English; F., French; D., Dutch; Sw., Swedish.)

CANADA.

1540—Cartier (F.): Quebec (failure).....	§ 18
1576—Frobisher (E.): Labrador (failure).....	20

¹The price paid to the Indians by the Dutch for Manhattan Island was 60 guilders (about \$24).

1583—Gilbert (E.): Newfoundland (failure).....	20
1605—De Monts (F.): Acadia, or Nova Scotia (success).....	19
1608—Champlain (F.): Quebec (success).....	19
(Here begins the French colonization of Canada, § 136.)	

THE UNITED STATES.

1562—South Carolina (F.): Port Royal (failure).....	18
1564—Florida (F.): Near St. Augustine (failure).....	18
1565—Florida (Sp.): St. Augustine (success).....	17
1582—New Mexico (Sp.): Santa Fé (success).....	17
1585—North Carolina (E.): Roanoke Island (failure)....	23
1587—North Carolina (E.): Roanoke Island (failure)....	23
1602—Massachusetts (E.): Buzzard's Bay (failure).....	24
1607—Virginia (E.): Jamestown (success).....	26, 31
(Here begins the English colonization of the United States.)	
1609—New York (D.): Hudson's discovery.....	28
1623—New York (D.): Dutch settlement (became English in 1664).....	28
1638—Delaware (Sw.): Swedish settlement (became Eng- lish in 1664).....	29

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. The physical characteristics of the St. Lawrence valley.
2. Raleigh's connection with exploring and colonizing schemes.
3. The life of Cartier.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The general authorities are the same as for Chapter I., with the addition, for English attempts, of Palfrey's *History of New England* and Doyle's *English in America*, vol. 1., chaps. 4 and 5; and, for French attempts, of Parkman's *Pioneers of France* and *La Salle*, and Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac* and *Mississippi Basin*. The works of Winsor are very detailed. There are brief lives of Raleigh by Gosse and Creighton.

CHAPTER III

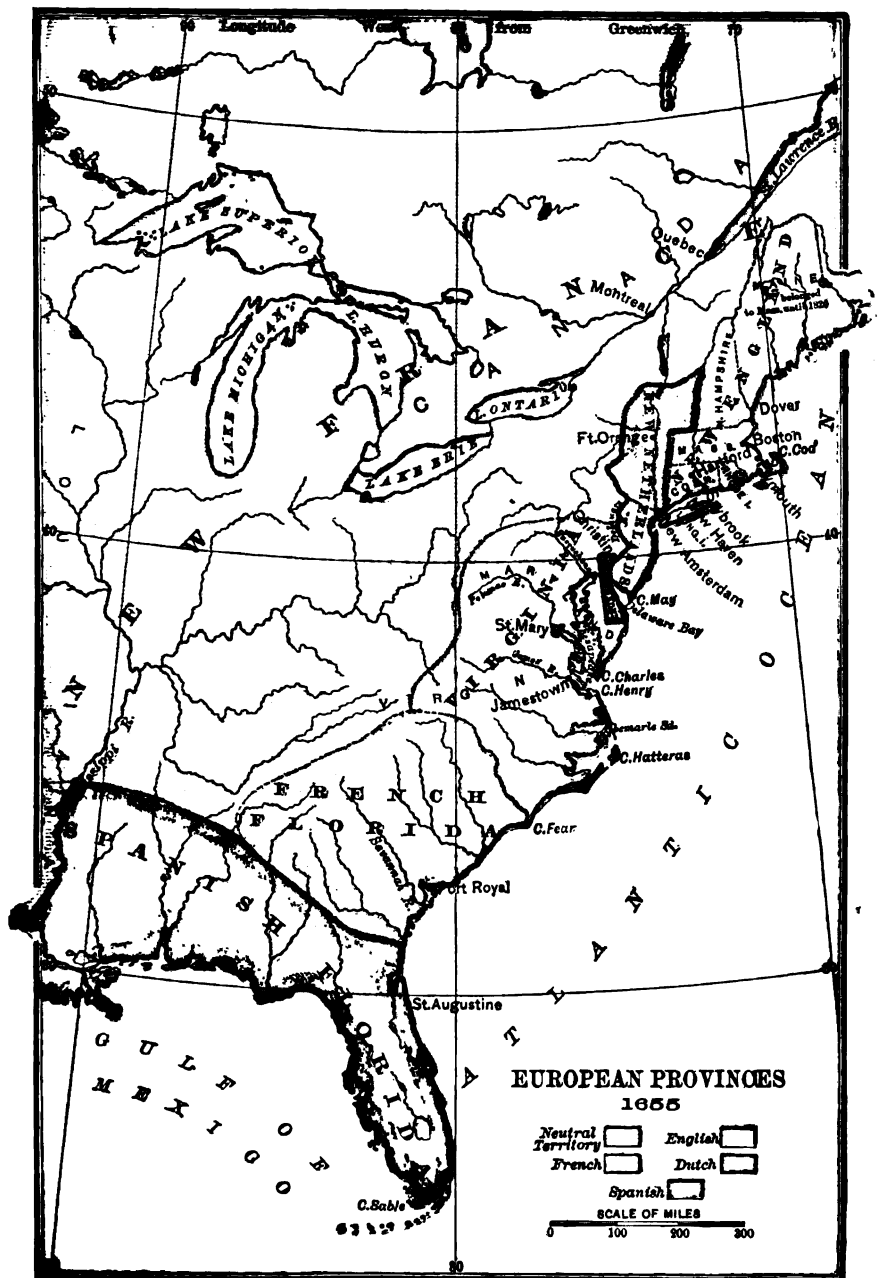
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION

1607-1750

31. The London Company (§ 25) sent out Captain Christopher Newport, with one hundred and twenty emigrants, to settle at Roanoke Island. A storm drove him out of his course and into Chesapeake Bay; he discovered the James River, which he named in honor of James I.; and about fifty miles from its mouth, on the northern bank of the river, he planted the settlement of Jamestown, in May, 1607. This was the first successful English settlement within the present limits of the United States, and was the beginning of the colony of Virginia (§ 76).¹

32. The Southern Colonies were in the end five in number: Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. These were formed out of the grant to the London Company by the king through the following changes: (1) in 1632, the new colony of Maryland was formed out of the northeastern part of Virginia (§ 85); (2) in 1665, Charles II. took off the southern part of Virginia, the present State of North Carolina, added to it the present territory of South Carolina and Georgia, and called the whole Carolina; (3) in 1729, Carolina was divided into North Carolina and South Carolina (§ 92); (4) in 1732, the new colony of Georgia was formed out of South Carolina (§ 103). The London Company could

¹ Jamestown was destroyed in 1676, during Bacon's rebellion (§ 82).



make no objection to these changes, for in 1624 the king had taken away its charter and put an end to the company, which, as he claimed, was not using its charter properly and faithfully. Florida was not an English colony until 1763 (§ 154); nor a part of the United States until 1819 (§ 414). The names of the first four English colonies on the southern coast were all royal: *Virginia*, from Elizabeth, the virgin queen; *Maryland*, from Henrietta Maria, Charles I.'s queen; *Carolina*, from Charles II. of England; and *Georgia*, from George II. of England.

33. The New England Colonies.—The Plymouth Company (§ 25) attempted to make a settlement in 1607, near the mouth of the Kennebec River, in Maine; but it was a failure, and the company made no more settlements on its own account. In 1620, a new company was formed, known as the "Council for New England." To this company the king gave the territory between north latitude 40° and 48°; that is, from about Philadelphia to the northern point of Maine. Almost the only work done by this company was to grant lands to various other colonies; and in 1635 it also gave back its powers to the king.¹ The New England Colonies, formed from the original Plymouth Company's grant, were at first seven: Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Haven, Providence, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. Plymouth was afterward united with Massachusetts Bay, New Haven with Connecticut, and Providence with Rhode Island. There were thus finally four New England colonies: Massachusetts Bay (§ 48), New Hampshire (§ 55), Connecticut (§ 57), and Rhode Island (§ 63).²

¹ The name New England was given to this coast in 1614 by Captain John Smith (§ 77).

² Maine was a part of Massachusetts until 1820. Vermont was claimed by New Hampshire and New York (§ 65).

34. The Middle Colonies, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, were for the most part conquered soil, taken from the Dutch (§ 28). Neither of the two great companies attempted to colonize this part of the coast, and it did not come into English possession until 1664.

35. *The Governments of the English colonies were not all alike, and some had different forms of government at different times. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had royal charters, written documents giving the colonists the right to elect their own officers and manage their own affairs. Virginia was also a charter colony until 1624. Pennsylvania (including Delaware), Maryland, and Carolina were given by the king to proprietors or owners, who formed governments in them, and appointed the governors and some other officers. But even in these proprietary colonies the people largely controlled their political affairs. New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey were royal colonies, ruled through governors appointed by the king. Virginia became a royal colony in 1624, and Carolina in 1719. The charter of Georgia, granted in 1732 to trustees, was surrendered to the king in 1752, and the colony became a royal province.

36. The Colonies in General were at first little interfered with by the king, who considered them more often as an annoyance than as an honor or a benefit. Thus the colonies, even those which had no charters, obtained the power to elect assemblies,¹ which made the laws for the colonies. The governors sent out by the king had the power to forbid the passage of any law which seemed to them wrong or unwise; but the governors were far from England, and for a long time interfered very little. Thus

¹ The first representative assembly in America met in Virginia in 1619 (§ 76).

it came to pass that the colonies really governed themselves almost from the beginning. But all of them acknowledged the same king, and were parts of the British Empire. Their inhabitants were Englishmen, who moved, when they wished, from one colony to another, without any notion that they were going to a foreign country. English colonization really gave the king of England a new country to govern.

37. The New Country was not like the old one, however, though both had the same king, laws, and language, and many of the same customs. England had a class of nobles who helped to make the laws simply because they had been born in particular families, and without being elected; but there was no such class in the colonies. In England, only a very few men had the power to vote for members of the Parliament which made English laws; in the colonies, almost all men had the power to vote for members of the assemblies which made their laws. In England, there were a few rich men and many poor men, a few educated men and many ignorant men; in the colonies there were few who were either very poor or very rich, and few who could not at least read and write.

38. These Differences made it much more difficult for the king to govern both countries well, for the laws which suited one of them were quite unsuited to the other. But the kings of England seem not to have understood this. England was their own country, and they were familiar with it; America was far away, and they knew little about it. It was therefore difficult for the king, when it was necessary for him to interfere in the government of America, to know what was best for that country; and there were many cases of bad government in all the colonies, because the king was not able to judge their needs wisely. As the colonies grew richer, these inter-

ferences became more troublesome, until in 1776 the colonies broke away from England altogether (§ 205).

39. Negro Slavery in the colonies was one of the worst of these cases of bad judgment. The first mention of it is in Virginia, in 1619, when a Dutch man-of-war exchanged some negro slaves for provisions. Negroes were soon held as slaves in all the colonies, though they increased most rapidly in the warmer southern colonies. Labor is the most important thing in a state. But, where laborers are generally known as slaves, no free man likes to labor, because there labor is thought to degrade the laborer to the level of a slave. A wiser government would therefore have forbidden slavery in the colonies: but the king of England not only did not forbid it, but became an active partner in the slave-trade, and refused to allow the colonies to forbid it. Thus the southern colonies came to believe that slavery and slave labor were absolutely necessary to them. But at that time there was no general feeling, as there is now, that slavery not only had a bad effect upon the industry of a country, but was also morally wrong.

40. European Affairs.—While English settlement in America was going on, between the years 1600 and 1690, great events were taking place in Europe; and it is necessary to bear them in mind while studying the next period, for they had a great influence on the history of the English colonies in America. In England the powers of government were divided between the king, the House of Lords (hereditary nobles, § 37), and the House of Commons (elected by a part of the people). The two Houses together were called the Parliament; and this body had little by little gained for itself the power of taxing the people. When Queen Elizabeth died (1603), and a new king, James I., came from Scotland, Parliament became

bolder in declaring its power. James, and still more his son, Charles I., resisted the claim, and even attempted at times to govern and lay taxes without calling the Parliament together. But the people refused to pay such taxes, and the king was repeatedly compelled to call the Parliament together and ask for money. Then the Parliament refused to lay taxes unless the king would give up other powers which were considered objectionable.

41. The Commonwealth and the Protectorate.—In 1642, the quarrel broke out into open war. The Parliament was successful, defeated and captured the king, Charles I., and in 1649 beheaded him as a traitor and tyrant. Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the Parliamentary army, soon afterward became ruler of England, with the title of Lord Protector, and held power until his death in 1658. This period is usually called, in English history, the period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. The king's friends were often called Cavaliers, and the supporters of the Commonwealth Puritans or Roundheads, the latter name being given because they cut their hair short, while the Cavaliers wore long, curling wigs.

42. The Restoration.—In 1660, the people, tired of the Protectorate and the rule of the army, called back Charles I.'s son, who had been living in exile, and made him king, with the title of Charles II. In 1685, he was succeeded by his brother, who had been Duke of York, but was now called James II. He endeavored, as Charles I. had done, to rule by his own will. In 1688, his subjects rebelled, drove him and his son away to France, and called in his son-in-law and daughter, William of Orange and Mary, as king and queen. This event is commonly called the English Revolution of 1688.

43. In France, events took an exactly opposite course. Louis XIII. in 1614 got rid of the body which had made

laws, and the French kings ruled by their own will until the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 (§ 305). In 1685, a religious persecution was begun in France, and drove many of the Protestants, commonly called Huguenots, out of that kingdom. Many of these came to America.

44. The American Colonies were very much neglected under James I. and Charles I.; they enjoyed great freedom from interference under the Commonwealth; and they were subjected to great annoyances and interferences under Charles II., and still more under James II. (§ 70). But all through the early part of the century, the troubles in England were driving great numbers of people across the Atlantic, and increasing the population of the colonies very rapidly. The population grew from nothing in 1600 to about 200,000 in 1700.

The following are the leading European events referred to:

- 1603-1625: Reign of James I.
- 1625-1649: Reign of Charles I. (son of James I.).
- 1640: The fifth Parliament of the reign meets.
- 1642: War breaks out. Battle of Edgehill.
- 1645: Battle of Naseby. The king captured.
- 1649: The king beheaded.
- 1649-1660: The Commonwealth.
- 1653: Cromwell is made Lord Protector.
- 1658: Death of Cromwell.
- 1660: Restoration.
- 1660-1685: Reign of Charles II. (son of Charles I.).
- 1685-1689: Reign of James II. (son of Charles I.).
- 1689-1702: Reign of William and Mary.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. The early colonial policy of England.
2. The meaning of "the rights of Englishmen," as applied to the American colonists.
3. The government of a proprietary colony (*e.g.*, Maryland).
4. A comparison between a southern colony (*e.g.*, Virginia)

and a northern colony (*e.g.*, New York) in the matter of the condition and treatment of slaves.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—For references on the several colonies see under Chapters IV., V., and VI., *post.* The course of events in England may be conveniently followed in Gardiner's *Student's History of England*. Seeley's *Expansion of England*, Lectures I.—VII., is a brilliant discussion of English colonial experience.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES :

1620-1750

(1) *Massachusetts Bay Colony.*

45. The Plymouth Colony occupied the irregular south-eastern portion of the present State of Massachusetts. The region was settled by a company of "Separatists," as they were called, who separated themselves from the worship of the church established by law in England. They had been persecuted in England under James I. and Charles I.; and many of them fled to Holland, where they found peace. After a time, a number of them who had settled in Leyden set sail for New Amsterdam (New York), in order to settle there in the possessions of the Dutch. Storms drove their ship, the *Mayflower*, from her course, and they landed, about one hundred in number, in the present State of Massachusetts, at Plymouth. The date of the landing was December 21, 1620.¹

46. The Pilgrims, as the colonists called themselves, suffered greatly during the winter, and half of their number died. They had been too poor to provide many of the comforts necessary for a new settlement; they did not find a fertile soil; and there seemed little chance of

¹The rock on which they are said to have landed is still seen, and is called Plymouth Rock, or Forefathers' Rock. Captain John Smith (§ 33, note) had already named the spot Plymouth.

getting rich by trading. Other settlers followed, however, and the little colony held its ground. It had no charter, but governed itself at first under a covenant, or agreement, made by the Pilgrims in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. This covenant has generally been held to



THE MAYFLOWER.

mark the beginning of that tendency toward democracy which finally prevailed in all the English colonies. It was in Virginia that the first Assembly was held; but the Assembly was convened by the governor under the authority of the Virginia Company, and the control of it was mainly in the hands of the wealthier planters; while the Pilgrims acted on their own responsibility, and had regard to rich and poor alike. The history of Plymouth, until its union with the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1691, was in the main uneventful. The colony was never a large one; but it opened the way for the emigration to New England of a great number of other persons who were opposed to the Church of England and the king, and did much to give New England a character of its own.

47. The Leaders of the Pilgrims were John Robinson, Miles Standish, John Carver, and William Bradford. Robinson was their minister in Holland, but did not accompany them to America. Standish was an old soldier, and the colony's military leader. He was "a man of a very small stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper," and was much dreaded by the Indians. On one occasion, he stabbed a hostile chief in the midst of his tribe. Carver was the first governor. He died during the first winter. Bradford was chosen in his place, and was re-elected yearly for about thirty years, until his death. The only years in which he was not re-elected were those in which, "by importunity, he got off."

48. The Massachusetts Bay Colony comprised the northern part of the present State of Massachusetts.¹ It was founded by Puritans, who had not altogether separated from the Church of England, but disliked some of its ceremonies. They sided with the Parliament against the king and the Cavaliers, and were persecuted as the Separatists had been. In 1628, a company of them bought their territory from the Council of Plymouth, and sent out a colony which settled at Salem. The next year, Charles I. gave them a charter, and they sent out more colonists, who settled at Salem and Charlestown. In 1630, a highly important step was taken. The company itself moved over to America, with its officers, charter, and all its powers; and thus the Puritans obtained a colony of their own in America, with little real dependence upon England.

49. The Population of the colony increased rapidly. In 1630, John Winthrop and 1500 others came from

¹ In the charters the name is variously spelled Massachusetts, Mattachusetts, and Massathusetts. It is an Indian word, and is said to mean "blue hills."

England and settled Boston, Cambridge, Lynn, and other towns. For a few years the new settlers suffered severely from cold, hunger, and other hardships, but not so much as the Plymouth settlers had suffered ten years before. The Massachusetts Bay settlers were richer, and had



GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP.

brought more supplies. There were more Puritans than Separatists in England, and so there were more emigrants to Massachusetts Bay than to the rest of New England. The men brought money and laboring power; the people worked hard; and Massachusetts Bay soon became one of the most prosperous of the colonies.

50. The Leaders of this colony were John Endicott, John Winthrop, Sir Henry Vane, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and a great number of other ministers. Endicott was a rigid Puritan, who at one time cut the cross out of the British flag in the colony, and

compelled the women to wear veils at church, and the men to cut their hair short. Winthrop was an English lawyer, a highly educated man, and more gentle than Endicott in his religious feeling. Vane was rich, able, and accomplished, and was elected governor when only twenty-four years old. He returned to England, helped to overthrow the king, opposed Cromwell, and was beheaded after the restoration. The last three named above were able ministers; and the colonists said that God had given them "Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building."

51. Religious Feeling marked most of the New England colonists. They had fled from religious persecution in the old world, and in the new world they made the building of churches, the founding of religious schools, and the preaching of the gospel a great part of their work. In Massachusetts Bay, particularly, they were determined to found a religious state. Their ministers were their leading men, and for many years no one could vote unless he was a member of the church. They dealt harshly with men of other religious beliefs who came to the colony and annoyed them by disputing with the Puritan ministers. Roger Williams held objectionable views on religious liberty and on the relation of the colony to the crown. He was ordered to leave the colony; and, fleeing from Massachusetts, he went into the wilderness and founded the colony of Rhode Island (§ 62). Afterwards, in 1637, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her followers were banished for teaching new religious doctrines. She also went to Rhode Island, and thence to New Netherland, where she was killed in a night attack by the Indians.

52. The Quakers gave the New England colonists most trouble, for they insisted on freedom of worship, and disobeyed the laws which forbade preaching by any but

Puritan ministers. They were often guilty of extravagant conduct. They persisted in entering Puritan meetings and arguing with the ministers, and were punished in various ways. In 1656, a law was passed that any



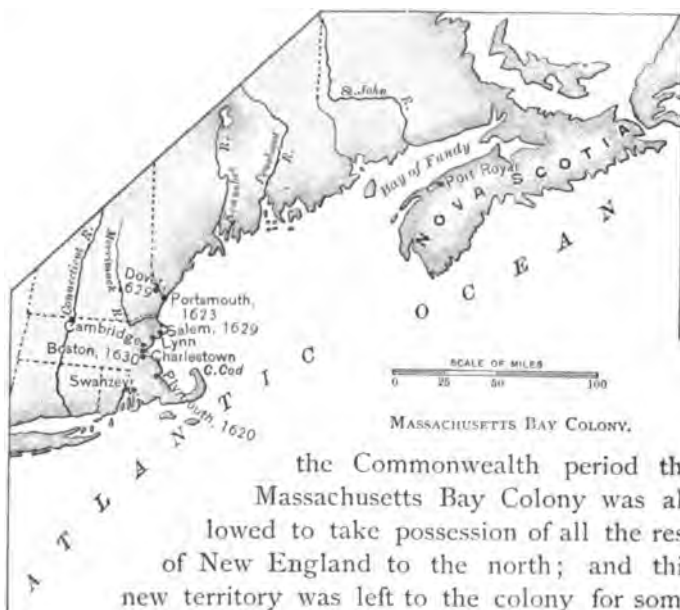
SITE OF BOSTON IN 1620.

Quaker who returned to the colony after banishment should be put to death. The king stopped the execution of the law after the restoration; but it shows the spirit of the times.

53. The Salem Witchcraft.—Before this spirit of religious persecution died away, the colony was shaken by the delusion known as the Salem witchcraft. Most people at the time, and the Puritans as strongly as others, believed that there were witches, who had received power from the devil to hurt or kill men and cattle. Both Massachusetts and Connecticut had made laws against witchcraft, and had hanged a number of persons for being witches. In 1692, the whole town of Salem became crazed with the belief that witches were at work there. Two silly or wicked little girls declared that different persons had taken the form of black cats or black dogs, and had bitten, pinched, and choked them. The people believed them, and even the great minister of the colony, Cotton Mather, supported them. The supposed witches were punished with religious fury; and wicked people seized the opportunity to charge their enemies with being witches. Before the terror died away, about twenty innocent people,

mostly old women and Indians, had been put to death. Finally, the magistrates and people came to their senses; and punishments for witchcraft were stopped.

54. The Colonies United.—The New England colonists sided with the Parliament against the king; and during



the Commonwealth period the Massachusetts Bay Colony was allowed to take possession of all the rest of New England to the north; and this new territory was left to the colony for some years after the restoration. In 1684, the king's judges declared the Massachusetts charter at an end; and James II. attempted to make the whole of New England one royal colony (§ 70), when he was driven from the throne in 1689. The new sovereigns, William and Mary, instead of restoring the old charter, granted a new charter in 1691. It united the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, the province of Maine, and the territory of Nova Scotia, into one colony, by the name of Massachusetts Bay; and made New Hampshire a separate

colony (§ 56). But the right to elect the governor was taken from the people, and all religions except the Roman Catholic were to be permitted. The colony remained under this charter until the colonies finally rebelled against Great Britain (§ 188).

(2) *New Hampshire.*

55. New Hampshire was John Mason's share of a tract of land granted to him and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in 1622, by the Council of Plymouth (§ 33). The grant covered the territory between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. Small settlements were made at Portsmouth and Dover, in 1623; and in 1629, the proprietors divided their grant. Mason named his share New Hampshire, from his own county of Hampshire, in England.

56. The Colony was for years hardly more than a few fishing villages. In 1641, it joined Massachusetts; but the king separated them in 1679, and made New Hampshire a royal colony. In 1688, the colony again joined Massachusetts; and in 1691, the king again separated them (§ 54). New Hampshire then remained a royal colony until the colonies rebelled against Great Britain (§ 188). It never was a large colony; its interior settlements were farming townships; and its history was uneventful.



NEW HAMPSHIRE COLONY.

(3) *Connecticut.*

57. The Connecticut Colony consisted of the territory now within the State of Connecticut, with the exception

of the few townships, on the shore of Long Island Sound, which formed the New Haven colony (§ 60). It is said to have been granted in 1630 to the Earl of Warwick by the Council of Plymouth (§ 33). In 1631, Warwick transferred it to Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and others. In 1635, they made a settlement, which they called Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River, but made no further attempts to colonize. Their claims were afterward purchased by the Connecticut settlers.

58. Settlement had already been begun by immigrants from Massachusetts, without permission of the proprietors. Their principal leader was Thomas Hooker (§ 50). They travelled on foot through the Massachusetts wilderness to the Connecticut River, driving their cattle before them,



SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60

CONNECTICUT COLONY.

and sometimes living chiefly on milk. They settled the towns of Wethersfield in 1634, Windsor in 1635, and Hartford in 1636. In 1639, they formed the first written constitution in America, and took the name of the Connecticut colony. Saybrook joined them; new towns were settled; and they retained their separate government throughout the Commonwealth period.

59. The Early History of the Connecticut colony was not very eventful. The principal Indian difficulties were with the Pequots, a powerful tribe of eastern Connecticut. In 1637, the settlers made war on the tribe, surrounded the Indians in their fort near Groton, and killed many of them. Another defeat near Fairfield put an end to the tribe: its members joined other tribes, or were sold as slaves. The Dutch in New Netherland claimed the territory up to the Connecticut River; but this dispute was settled in 1650 by a treaty at Hartford, fixing the boundary between Connecticut and New Netherland (New York) very nearly as at present.

60. The New Haven Colony was settled in 1638, by a company of English immigrants, under Rev. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, who bought lands from the Indians. Other settlers followed them and formed new towns near by, on the shore of Long Island Sound. In 1639, these towns united under the name of the New Haven Colony. There were thus two colonies within the present State of Connecticut, neither of them having a royal charter; and each tried to gain to itself the new towns as they were formed. These, however, generally preferred to go into the Connecticut colony, for New Haven, like Massachusetts Bay, allowed no one but members of the church to vote or hold office (§ 51).

61. The Colonies United.—In 1660, when the Commonwealth came to an end in England, and Charles II. was recalled, the Connecticut colony, the stronger of the two, set about to obtain a charter. The governor, Winthrop, was at once sent to England for that purpose. In 1662, he obtained a charter covering the territory of both colonies. It allowed the people to elect their governor as well as their assembly, and practically to govern themselves. It suited them so well that it re-

mained in force after the Revolution, and until 1818. New Haven unwillingly accepted the charter, and in 1665 the two colonies were united under the name of the Colony of Connecticut. In 1687, Andros (§ 70) appeared at Hartford and demanded the charter. While the argument was going on in the evening, the lights, so the story goes, were suddenly blown out; and before they could be relighted, the charter had been taken out



CHARTER OAK.

and hidden near by, in a hollow oak-tree. When William and Mary came to the throne in 1689, the charter was brought out again, and the government went on as before until the Revolution (§ 204). The tree in which the charter is said to have been hidden, called the Charter Oak, stood and was well cared for until it was blown down in a storm in 1856. The early division into two colonies was long marked by the fact that Connecticut had two capitals, Hartford and New Haven. Since 1873 Hartford has been the sole capital.

(4) *Rhode Island.*

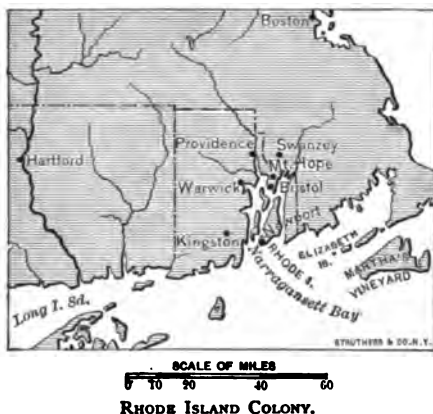
62. Roger Williams, after he had been driven from Massachusetts (§ 51), took refuge among the Indians at the head of Narragansett Bay. In 1636, their chief, Canonicus, sold him a large tract of land, which Williams called Providence, in remembrance of the manner in which he felt that God had guided him thither. Others followed him, and settled on the large island in the bay, called Rhode Island. Portsmouth, in the northern part of the island, was settled in 1638, and Newport in 1639. These two colonies, or "plantations," were separate for several years, having no charter, and governing themselves. In 1643, a third and smaller colony was founded at Warwick, on the western shore of the bay.

63. A Charter was obtained by Williams in 1643 from Parliament, which gave liberal rights of government, but did not confirm the title of the colonists to the land. In 1663, a new charter was obtained from Charles II. The different settlements were now gathered into one colony, under the name of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. The people were to elect their own governor, assembly, and other officers, and govern themselves. The charter suited the people so well that they kept it in force after the Revolution, and until 1842 (§ 513).¹

64. The Early History of Rhode Island was marked by frequent controversies, fortunately bloodless, as the laws were tolerant. All religious denominations were permitted, and the colony became a place of refuge for those who were persecuted elsewhere. There were few troubles with the Indians, but often vigorous disputes with the neighboring colonies. Plymouth, on the east, claimed

¹ For the attempt of Andros to destroy the charter, see § 70.

the territory up to the eastern shore of the bay. Connecticut, on the west, claimed the territory up to the western shore of the bay. Massachusetts claimed the northern part of the colony. These claims would have



left only the islands in the bay to the little colony. Rhode Island resisted stubbornly, and succeeded, in 1741 and 1752, in fixing its boundaries as at present.¹

(5) *Vermont.*

65. Vermont was part of the grant to the Duke of York (see Map. p. 78), like western Connecticut and Massachusetts. The grant was given up as to the two latter colonies; and so, about 1750, New Hampshire claimed Vermont and sold it to settlers. For this reason Vermont was long known as the "New Hampshire Grants." New York urged a claim to it, and attempted to make the people pay for their land again. The Green Mountain

¹ The legal name is still "The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations"; and the State retained its two capitals, Providence and Newport, the legislature meeting in them alternately, until November, 1900, when Providence was made the sole capital.

Boys, as the settlers called themselves, treated the New York officers very roughly, and formed a government of their own. At first they called it New Connecticut, and then Vermont, a French word meaning Green Mountains. They kept up this separate government throughout the Revolution. Vermont had little to do with the other colonies during the colonial period, and remained practically independent, save for its controversy with New Hampshire and New York, throughout the Revolutionary War.

(6) *New England in General.*

66.* New England Confederation.—In 1643, the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a confederacy, under the name of “The United Colonies of New England.” By the articles of union which were drawn up and agreed to, each colony was to be represented by two commissioners, who were empowered to meet and decide on questions of peace and war, and on a few other matters of common interest. So far as its own affairs were concerned, each colony continued to govern itself. No colony was to engage in war, unless attacked, without the consent of the others, and the expenses and profits of the war were to be shared by the members of the confederation. Rhode Island, whose territory was claimed by the other colonies, was refused admission. The practical importance of the New England Confederation came to an end in 1662, when Connecticut and New Haven were united (§ 61); but it had showed the colonies the advantage of joint action, and was a step in the direction of more permanent union.

67. The Navigation Acts.—At first, the colonists everywhere were busied only in agriculture, hunting, and fishing. As they grew richer, they turned to manufactures,

ship-building, and commerce, and their assemblies offered to grant money to persons who would engage in such pursuits. This was not at all pleasant to English merchants, who wished to keep the trade of the colonies in their own hands. In 1651, Parliament passed the first of what were called the Navigation Acts. These laws forbade the colonies to trade with any other country than England, or to receive foreign ships into their ports. They were particularly aimed at New England, whose people had gone eagerly into commerce; but they were not well enforced for many years (see also § 80).¹ The revenue officers were careless, or took bribes to allow vessels to trade with foreign countries; and thus most of the Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut merchants were compelled to be smugglers, and to engage in trade that was forbidden by law. About a hundred years after the passage of these laws, the attempt was at last made to enforce them in earnest; and this, as will be seen, helped to bring about the Revolution (§ 169).

68. The Indians soon saw very plainly that the white strangers were driving them away from the coast and out of their ancient possessions. One of them, Philip, chief of the Wampanoags, a Rhode Island tribe, was bold enough to strike a blow for his race. He travelled through New England until he had united the Indians from Maine to the Hudson River in a league against the English. The war broke out in June, 1675. The Indians attacked Swansea, Massachusetts, and killed a number of persons; and, almost at the same time, similar attacks were made on the villages all along the frontier. The towns of western Massachusetts suffered most severely.

¹ As a part of the same system, various acts of Parliament forbade the transportation of manufactures, such as wool, iron, paper, hats, and leather, from colony to colony. These laws were also evaded.

69. King Philip's War lasted for nearly two years. About thirteen towns were destroyed; many others were attacked; about six hundred whites were killed in battle; and an unknown number perished by massacre or starvation. The most severe battle, called "the swamp fight," took place in December, 1675. It was fought by Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut troops, who surrounded and captured a Narragansett fort, in a swamp near Kingston, Rhode Island, and slaughtered its defenders. The colonies were too strong for the Indians. Philip was driven out of one place after another; and in August, 1676, he was finally hunted down to his principal residence at Mount Hope, near Bristol, Rhode Island. Here he was surrounded by a force under Benjamin Church, a Plymouth Indian-fighter. In attempting to break through and escape, Philip was shot and killed. His men were killed or sold into slavery, and the power of the New England Indians was broken forever.

70. The Andros Government.—It has already been said that the colonies were subjected to great annoyances under James II. This was particularly the case with the New England colonies. The king was vexed to know that they were governing themselves under their charters, and determined to show that he was their master. The English courts had already decided that the Massachusetts charter was void (§ 54); and Sir Edmund Andros, who had lately been governor of New York, was appointed governor of New England, with orders from the king to demand the charters of the colonies. He landed at Boston in December, 1686, and Massachusetts submitted to him for the time. He then went, in 1687, to Hartford and Newport. The charter of Connecticut disappeared (§ 61), and the charter of Rhode Island could not be found; but he declared both governments at an end.

The colonists hated him, for he governed harshly and tyrannically. But his service pleased the king, who added New York and New Jersey to his government the next year. Early in 1689, when rumors of the English revolution reached New England, he was seized at Boston by the people, and sent back to England. Connecticut and Rhode Island were allowed to resume their old charters, but the charter of Massachusetts was not restored, although the colony received a new charter in 1691 (§ 54): The new government in England sent Andros back again to America as governor of Virginia.

71. Early French Wars.—When James II. and his son were driven from England, the king of France received them and gave them help. For this and other reasons, France and England were frequently at war for the next seventy years, and the French and English colonies in America took part in the wars. The first three of these were called, from the names of the English rulers, King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and King George's War (1744–1748). In America they were waged mainly by New England and New York against Canada; and the southern colonies took little part in them. But the treaties which ended all these wars agreed that each party should give back its conquests, except that, at the end of Queen Anne's War, England kept Port Royal and Nova Scotia. This was the only gain to the colonies from any of these wars.

72. The French Strongholds were four: Montreal and Quebec in Canada; Port Royal (now Annapolis), a fine harbor in Nova Scotia (or Acadia); and Louisburg, a strong fortress on the southeast coast of Cape Breton Island. The New-Englanders were most anxious to capture Port Royal and Louisburg, which were especially dangerous to their fishing-vessels on the Newfoundland

banks. In 1690, Massachusetts sent an expedition under Sir William Phips, which captured Port Royal; but the place was given up at the end of the war. In 1710, Port Royal was captured again, after one failure, and this time it was kept. In 1745, the New England colonies united



SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600
EARLY FRENCH WARS.

and captured Louisburg, with the assistance of a British fleet; but this was given back at the end of the war. Several land expeditions were made against Montreal and Quebec, but they were entirely unsuccessful (§ 151).

73. The Indians in western New York and Canada took the side of the French, for the French were always more successful than the English in gaining the liking of the Indians. Thus the whole frontier was kept in alarm. The secret and savage fashion in which the Indians, often under the lead of French officers, attacked the border towns, and killed the people or carried them as captives to Canada, embittered the colonists against the French as well as the Indians, and united them in the final French and Indian war (§ 143).¹

¹ The "Five Nations" of Indians, afterward called the "Six Nations" (§ 3), joined the English at first, but usually refused to take part in the wars.

74. Growth of New England.—No one can do anything more than guess at the population of the colonies before the first census of the United States was taken in 1790 (§ 312). We can only know that, after the colonies were fairly settled, the population of most of them doubled about once in thirty years. In 1715, British officials estimated the population of this section at 161,650.¹ In 1750, New England contained probably about 430,000 persons.

75. The People had been made a thrifty and hardy race by constant struggles against a severe climate. They had not only agriculture, but ships, commerce, and fisheries, and had begun to introduce manufactures. None of them were very rich, and few were very poor. They were accustomed to govern themselves in their towns and in accordance with the terms of their charters. They were therefore always ready to resist any attempt to take away the smallest of their privileges; and the royal officials found no part of America so hard to manage as New England. Education was very general. The first two of the present colleges in America were founded in New England: Harvard, at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, in 1636; and Yale, at New Haven, in Connecticut, in 1700. Both negroes and Indians were held as slaves in this section; but the climate was not favorable to slavery, and the system showed no signs of increase.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Town government in New England.
2. The New England Confederation.

¹ The population in 1715 was supposed to be divided as follows: Massachusetts, 96,000; New Hampshire, 9,650; Connecticut, 17,000; Rhode Island, 9,000. In 1750: Massachusetts, 210,000; New Hampshire, Rhode Island, 40,000; Connecticut, 135,000.

3. The Dutch in Connecticut.
4. Life in a typical New England town in the seventeenth century.
5. History of the first Massachusetts charter.
6. Treatment of Roger Williams by Massachusetts.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—The principal charters and grants are in MacDonald's *Select Charters*, Nos. 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 24, 27, and 42; the same volume contains the Mayflower Compact (No. 5), the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (No. 14), the Fundamental Articles of New Haven (No. 16), the scheme of government for New Haven (No. 20), the Massachusetts Body of Liberties (No. 17), the Articles of the New England Confederation (No. 19), and extracts from the Navigation Acts (Nos. 22, 23, 25, 28, 34, and 43). Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, vol. 1., chaps. 14-21, gives well-chosen extracts, from contemporary sources, illustrating social and economic conditions in the several colonies.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The best brief work is Fiske's *Beginnings of New England*. Lodge's *Short History of the English Colonies in America*, chaps. 18-22, is valuable, but more detailed. Eggleston's *Beginners of a Nation*, bk. II., chaps. 1-4, bk. III., chaps. 2 and 3, is brilliantly written and of marked worth. Of the more elaborate special histories, Palfrey's *New England* is still the best. For a scholarly English view, Doyle's *English in America* should be consulted. The best account of the New England Confederation is in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*. State histories of unequal merit: Barry's *Massachusetts*, Belknap's *New Hampshire*, Greene's *Rhode Island*, Johnston's *Connecticut*, Johnson's *Maine*, and Heaton's *Vermont* are perhaps the best. Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* and Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts* are contemporary narratives. Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts* is of prime value. Important special histories: *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, Ellis's *Puritanism in America*, Hosmer's *Young Men of the Seventeenth Century*, Wendell's *Cotton*, and *Arle's Customs and Old New England*, *New England Two*.

Centuries Ago; Jane G. Austin's *Betty Alden, A Nameless Nobleman, Standish of Standish, Dr. Le Baron and His Daughters*, and *David Alden's Daughters* (Plymouth); Longfellow's *Miles Standish, John Endicott*, and *Giles Corey*; Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* and *Scarlet Letter*; Whittier's *Mabel Martin*; Motley's *Merry Mount*; Holland's *Bay-Path*; E. L. Bynner's *Penelope's Suitors*; F. J. Stimson's *King Noanett*.

CHAPTER V
THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

1607-1750

(1) *Virginia.*

76. The First Settlement of Virginia was at Jamestown, in 1607 (§ 31). For several years, the colony had a hard struggle for life. Most of the colonists at first were broken-down gentlemen, who neither wished to work nor knew how to work; and the people had quite decided, several times, to return to England, when new supplies of men and food changed their purpose and saved the colony. In about ten years the colony became established firmly enough to take care of itself. It obtained from the London company the power to make its own laws in an assembly, or legislature, elected for that purpose; and in 1619, the first assembly ever elected in America met at Jamestown. In the same year we first hear of negro slavery in America.

77. Captain John Smith was the most prominent man in the first two years of the colony's history. He seems to have been a bold and shrewd man, who did the colony good service in controlling the Indians and the colonists, and in exploring the surrounding country. He had a vivid imagination, and was a wonderful story-teller; but many of his stories are very doubtful. Smith was not liked by those colonists whom he forced to work. In

1609, he went back to England, but afterward returned to America, and explored and named the coast of New England.

78. The Colony soon became prosperous through the cultivation of tobacco. Tobacco was the money of the colony, everything being paid for in so many pounds of



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

tobacco. One pound was then worth from two to twelve cents of our money, but could buy five or six times as much as at the present time. The settlers built their own vessels, and carried on commerce with England. The population grew steadily. In 1715, it was believed to be about the same as that of Massachusetts, 95,000; and in 1750, it was estimated at 285,000. When the Revolution

(§ 183) broke out, Virginia was one of the richest and most important of the thirteen colonies.

79. The Territory of Virginia at first covered nearly all of the present Southern States, north of South Carolina, but was gradually reduced by the formation of new colonies. Thus, when the Revolution began, Virginia covered the present States of Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. But Virginia claimed that its northern boundary ran northwest, instead of west, so as to take in the western part of Pennsylvania, and the present great northwestern States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin (§ 270).

80. Virginia became a royal colony in 1624 (§ 32). The king did not take away the privileges already enjoyed by the colonists, and they continued to govern themselves. During the Commonwealth period (§ 41), they sided with the king, until the Parliament threatened to send over a force to conquer them. The Navigation Acts (§ 67) were also intended to punish them. They submitted unwillingly, and rejoiced at the restoration of Charles II.¹ But the new king showed them no favor. In 1673, he actually presented the colony to one of his court favorites, although he took the gift back again nine years afterward.

81. Indian Wars were not numerous in Virginia. In the first, in 1622, about 350 settlers were killed, and there was some danger of the destruction of the colony. In the second, in 1644, about 300 settlers were killed. In both of these wars the Indians were conquered, and after the second they were no more troublesome. In 1675, the year of King Philip's War (§ 68), the Maryland Indians

¹ At the restoration, Virginia called herself the new king's "ancient dominion," because of her steady loyalty; and the State is still often called "The Old Dominion."

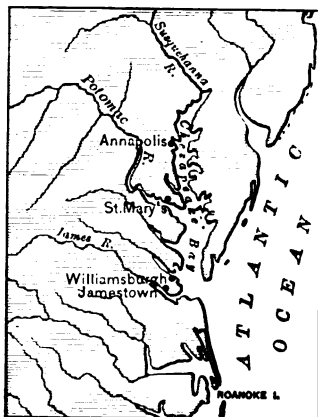
became troublesome to the Virginia settlers, and this was one of the reasons for the rebellion which followed.

82. Bacon's Rebellion.—Governor Berkeley and a few of his friends had got the powers of government into their own hands. They believed that the Maryland Indians had been unjustly treated, and refused to make war on them. In 1676, a young planter, named Nathaniel Bacon, raised troops among the settlers, compelled the governor to conquer the Indians, and finally drove him out of Jamestown. In the struggle, Jamestown was burned, and it was never rebuilt; Williamsburgh became the capital. Bacon died suddenly, and his rebellion fell to pieces. The enraged governor hanged twenty-two of the principal rebels, and for a time governed the colony very harshly, but was soon recalled to England, where he shortly afterwards died. "The old fool," said the king, "has taken away more lives in that naked country than I did for the murder of my father."

83. The Virginian Colonists generally lived on large plantations, for they had plenty of fertile land at command, and were not afraid of Indians. There were thus very few towns in the colony. The people were not so nearly equal in wealth as in New England: there were more very rich men, and more very poor ones; and the rich men were generally able to get most of the powers of government to themselves. Most of them were members of the Church of England, and their assemblies passed severe laws against the entrance of men of other religious beliefs to the colony. In this respect Virginia was like most of the other colonies (§ 51). It was not until after the Revolution that this spirit of religious persecution altogether died away.

84. Education.—The Virginians were so scattered that schools were very few, and education was confined to the

rich, who could send their sons to England. Governor Berkeley said, "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." In 1693, William and Mary College, the second college in the United States, was founded at Williamsburgh. It suffered much from the ravages of war, both in the Revolution and in the Civil War, but after having been closed several times, it has of late been re-organized and is now in operation.



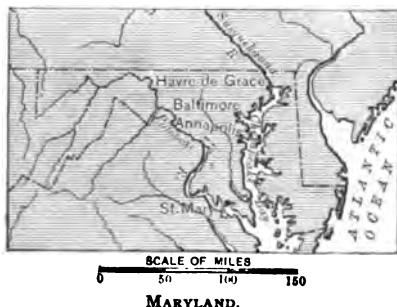
SCALE OF MILES
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VIRGINIA COLONY.

(2) *Maryland.*

85. Roman Catholics were persecuted by the laws of England, as the Puritans and Quakers were persecuted, and the colony of Maryland was founded as a Catholic place of refuge. One of the leading English Catholics was Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore. He at first tried to found a Catholic colony in Newfoundland, but the unfavorable climate defeated it. He then fixed on that part of Virginia east of the Potomac River. Virginia had already explored it, and was preparing to settle it; but Charles I. granted it to Baltimore without asking Virginia's consent. Baltimore died, but the patent was given to his son, Cecil Calvert, in 1632. The name of Maryland was given by the king in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria.

86. Settlement was begun in 1634, by Leonard Calvert, a brother of the new Lord Baltimore. He settled, with

200 immigrants, at a little Indian village near the mouth of the Potomac, and called the place St. Mary's. The town of Annapolis was founded about 1683, and Baltimore in 1729. In 1635, the proprietor called a legislative assembly; and from that time the people governed themselves, paying the proprietor some small taxes. The



proprietor, in 1691, was a supporter of James II. ; and the new king, William, deprived him of his colony, and appointed the governors himself. In 1716, the proprietor's rights were restored to him. The family of Calvert died out in 1771, and the people of Maryland became proprietors in 1776.

87. Mason and Dixon's Line.—The territory of Maryland, as it was granted to Lord Baltimore, included also the present State of Delaware and the southern part of Pennsylvania. When Pennsylvania was granted to Penn, in 1681 (§ 121), a long dispute followed between Penn and Lord Baltimore as to the boundary between their grants. The matter was settled in 1763, and the boundary-line was run as at present. This was called "Mason and Dixon's line," from the names of the surveyors who marked it, and was long considered the boundary between the Northern and the Southern States.

88. Religious Persecution was not allowed in Maryland

while the Catholics retained control of the province. In this respect the Baptist colony of Rhode Island, the Catholic colony of Maryland, and the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania deserve credit above the other colonies. Other settlers soon came into Maryland, and they were not so liberal. Some were from Virginia, and disliked the Maryland government; others were Puritans, and disliked the Roman Catholics. In 1692, Maryland became an Episcopalian colony, like Virginia (§ 83). Laws were passed to support the Church of England by taxes, and religious toleration was checked. The unfortunate Roman Catholics, who had founded the colony and admitted others to it, were now harshly treated, forbidden to vote, and forced to pay taxes for the support of another church. This state of things lasted until the Revolution, when religious intolerance came to an end.

89. The Maryland Colonists lived very much like those of Virginia (§§ 83, 84). Chesapeake Bay furnished great advantages for ships engaged in foreign commerce, and the Susquehannah River at its head opened up the Indian trade to the merchants of Maryland. Baltimore became one of the busiest towns on the coast, and the population of the colony grew from 200 in 1634 to 30,000 in 1700, 50,000 in 1715, and about 150,000 in 1750. There were hardly any serious Indian wars to disturb the peace of the colony.

(3) *North Carolina.*

90. Carolina was granted in 1663 and 1665, by Charles II., to eight proprietors.¹ It included the territory now

¹ Among the proprietors were Hyde, Lord Clarendon; Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who had been a leader in restoring Charles II.; Lord Ashley Cooper, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury; Governor Berkeley of Virginia (§ 82); and his brother and Carteret, afterward proprietors of New Jersey (§ 118).

in the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and westward to the Pacific Ocean. The French at Port Royal had called the country Carolina, a hundred years before (§ 18), in honor of their king, Charles IX. (*Carolus*, in Latin); and the English now retained the name, in honor of their king, Charles II. The country had remained uninhabited since the failure of the French colony, except that a few Virginians had pushed down the coast and settled the northern shore of Albemarle Sound.

91. The Plan of Government which the proprietors formed for their new colony was very remarkable. There were to be nobles, called barons, landgraves, and casiques, each with a certain number of acres of land. The rest of the people were to have no share in the government, and were to be bought and sold with the soil. The plan was wholly unfit for an American settlement, and the colonists refused to have anything to do with it; but for more than fifty years the proprietors tried at intervals to force it on the colony.¹

92. The Province remained united for about seventy years. But it was found from the beginning that North Carolina and South Carolina covered too much space to be easily governed as one colony. They were therefore considered two counties of the same province, and each had its own assembly and governor. In 1729, the proprietors gave up their rights to the king. Both North Carolina and South Carolina then remained royal colonies until the Revolution.

93. In North Carolina the proprietors adopted the Virginian settlement (§ 90) as their own, and called it the

¹ This was the only colony in which there was an attempt to have a nobility (§ 37). John Locke, an English philosopher, who was at one time Ashley's secretary, drew up the plan, which is known as the "Fundamental Constitutions."

Albemarle colony. In 1665, a colony from Barbadoes settled near the Cape Fear River. It was called the Clarendon colony, but was soon removed into South Carolina. The population of the whole colony grew very slowly for a time. There were a few settlers from New England, and more fled to North Carolina from Virginia after the failure of Bacon's rebellion (§ 82). New Berne was settled by a colony of Swiss in 1711. After 1740, there was an increase of settlement, because of rebellions in Scotland. Those who had been engaged in the outbreaks were allowed by the British Government to leave Scotland, and many of them settled in North Carolina. Fayetteville was settled by Scotch immigrants in 1746. The population of the colony was estimated at 11,200 in 1715, and at about 90,000 in 1750.

94. The Government was generally bad. Hardly any colony had such a remarkable succession of bad men sent out as governors; and the early history of North Carolina is mainly one of resistance by the people to the governors' illegal taxation. In 1677, one governor attempted to enforce the Navigation Acts (§ 67); and the people imprisoned him and set up a new government for themselves. In 1688, another governor was driven away from the colony. In 1771, Governor Tryon collected an army, fought a pitched battle with his people, who called themselves Regulators, and defeated them. The cruel manner in which he punished the leaders drove many of them across the mountains, and helped to settle Tennessee (§ 301).

95. Indian Wars were few. The most important was with the Tuscaroras, in 1711. With the help of South Carolina, the colony defeated the Indians, and drove most of them away to New York, where they became one of the Six Nations (§ 3).

96 Scattered Population.—The North Carolina colonists were at first more widely scattered than the settlers in any other colony. The great pine forests had no good roads; and the people were mainly engaged in making tar and

turpentine from the trees. As they explored the country farther from the coast, they found it much more open and fertile, and here they engaged in farming and hunt-



ing. But they were still very much scattered, and were unable to introduce schools in any great number, or the conveniences of settled life. Nevertheless, the colony became firmly established. It refused to allow religious persecution, defeated

the attempt to make the Church of England the official church, and became a place of refuge for those who were persecuted in neighboring colonies. But the spirit of independence which marked the people was not pleasant to the governors, who often called them "a turbulent people."

(4) *South Carolina.*

97. The First English Settlement in South Carolina was made in 1670. A colony, sent out by the proprietors, reached the coast at Port Royal, then sailed north to the Ashley River, and on the first highland above the mouth of the river established a settlement, which was afterward called Old Charles town. The location was found to be a poor one, and in 1680 the settlement was moved down

to the point of land between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, where Charleston now stands. The Clarendon colony from North Carolina soon joined it (§ 93). Dutch families, dissatisfied with English rule in New York (§ 111), also came to South Carolina, and so did a number of French Huguenot settlers, driven from home by religious persecution. As in North Carolina, there were many Scotch settlers. The population of the colony was estimated at 16,750 in 1715, and about 80,000 in 1750.¹

98. The Colony first became prosperous through the cultivation of rice, which began in 1693. For a time, rice was the money of the colony, as tobacco was in Virginia and Maryland (§ 78). In 1740, it required two hundred and fifty-seven British vessels to carry the colony's produce to Europe. In 1754, indigo was introduced with still more success. These two articles made South Carolina one of the richest of the colonies. Cotton was not successfully cultivated until after 1793 (§ 315).

99. Two Districts, the uplands and the lowlands, were formed in the colony as population grew. The uplands, toward the mountains, were settled by foreign immigrants and mountaineers, who cultivated small farms or engaged in hunting. This part of the colony had little money and few negro slaves. The lowlands, where the rice, indigo, and cotton grew, contained the wealthy people and the large plantations. This part of the colony was cultivated by negro slaves, for it was unhealthy for white laborers; and before many years there were more than twice as many negroes as whites. In 1740, there was a small negro insurrection.

100. The People were thus very poor in the uplands, and very much scattered in the lowlands. There were

¹ Charleston was the only important town. It was known as Charles Town until after the Revolution.

hardly any schools except in Charleston; but the rich planters of the lowlands sent their sons to England to be educated. The people of the lowlands were generally members of the Church of England, and in 1706 they made that the established church of the colony. But there can hardly be said to have been any religious persecution in this colony.

101. Early Wars.—None of the southern colonies took part in the early French wars, with the exception of Queen Anne's War (§ 71). In 1702, South Carolina, then the southernmost colony, sent an expedition to the Spanish territory of Florida. It captured St. Augustine, but was driven away by the arrival of two Spanish war-vessels. In 1706, a French and Spanish expedition from Cuba appeared before Charleston, but the South Carolinians fought so well that it was beaten off with the loss of half its men. Before the next war took place, Georgia had become the southernmost colony, and did most of the fighting (§ 106).

102. Indian Wars.—The Indian allies of France and Spain were always troublesome. In 1715, they formed a confederacy to destroy the white settlers. The colony was aided by Virginia and North Carolina; and the Indians were defeated, and their power was broken. The proprietors refused to pay their share of the expense of these wars; and in 1719, before they had given up their rights, the people overturned the government, and obtained a governor from the king. South Carolina then remained a royal colony until the Revolution.

(5) *Georgia.*

103. The English Poor suffered terribly at the beginning of the last century. Those who could not pay their debts were imprisoned in jails, whose condition was filthy

beyond description. Their sufferings, and those of the English poor generally, touched the heart of James Oglethorpe, an English officer and a kindly man. In 1732, he obtained from King George II. a grant of that part of South Carolina west of the Savannah River.¹ He named this territory Georgia, in honor of the king. The English Parliament made grants of money to assist those who wished to emigrate.

104. The First Settlement was made in 1733, at Savannah, where Oglethorpe himself planted a colony of one hundred and fourteen persons. Colonies of Germans and Scotch followed. Darien and Augusta were founded in 1736. But the colony increased so slowly that in 1750 there were but five thousand inhabitants, living in these three towns and on a few scattered plantations. Its territory extended to the Mississippi River, covering the larger part of the present States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi; but most of it was still in the hands of the Indians. Oglethorpe treated the Indians justly, and bought from them the land that he needed. The Indians gave the colonists very little trouble.

105. Georgia was the latest and the weakest of the colonies. Slavery was at first forbidden in it, and many of the colonists believed that this was the reason for their lack of prosperity. In 1747, the trustees yielded to the wishes of the colonists, and allowed negro slaves to be brought into the colony. In 1752, the trustees gave up the colony to the king, and Georgia became a royal colony.

¹ As the territory of South Carolina had been surrendered to the king in 1729 (§ 92), its people could make no objection to the king's formation of a new colony within their territory. Indeed, they favored it, in order to have a new colony as a barrier between themselves and the Spaniards in Florida (§ 101).

106. The Spanish War.—England declared war against Spain in 1739, and the whole burden of the war in America fell on the southernmost colonies. Early in 1740, Oglethorpe attacked Florida with Georgia troops, and captured two towns. He went again to Florida some months afterward, with fresh troops from South Carolina, and laid siege to the principal town, St. Augustine. Sickness in his army broke up the siege, and he retired to Georgia. In 1742, a Spanish expedition returned the attack. Oglethorpe met it near the mouth of the Altamaha River, and defeated the Spaniards in one battle. They then retired to Cuba, and warlike operations ceased.¹

(6) *The Southern Colonies in General.*

107 Their Independent Position.—The southern colonies, in their early history, did not generally act together as the New England colonies did (§ 66). New England was not a large territory. Its people were more closely settled, were nearly all of the same blood, and were thus very likely to act together. The territory covered by the southern colonies was very large, and was crossed by very many large rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. Most of the people were English, but there were also many Scotch, Irish, French, Germans, and Dutch. Each planter lived at a distance from others, on a great plantation. For all these reasons, life in the southern colonies was quiet, and had little to do with neighboring colonies.

108. The People of the southern colonies lived generally as in Virginia (§ 83). There were many large planta-

¹ Oglethorpe returned to England in 1743 and remained there. While he lived he continued to be a warm friend to the colonies. He died in 1785, at the age of 97, having seen the independence of the United States acknowledged by Great Britain (§ 263).

tions, and few large towns or attempts at manufactures. Many of the planters owned their own vessels, and sent them directly to Europe from their plantations. Many of them also kept their accounts very carelessly, and were hopelessly in debt to the agents in Europe who sold their cargoes and bought goods in return for them. There were very few schools; the children of the planters were educated in Europe or at home on the plantation, while poorer children were educated very little or not at all. As a general rule, it may be said that neighboring colonies and neighboring people had most to do with one another in New England, less in the middle colonies, and least of all in the southern colonies.¹

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. The life of a Virginia planter.
2. Bacon's rebellion.
3. Local government in a southern colony (*e.g.*, Maryland).
4. England and the African slave-trade.
5. Why was there no colonial union, such as the New England Confederation, in the south?
6. Class distinctions in the southern colonies.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—For the charters, see MacDonald's *Select Charters*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 12, 26, 32, and 49. The extracts in Hart's *Contemporaries*, vol. 1., chaps. 9–13, illustrate from contemporary sources the social conditions in the southern colonies.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—Fiske's *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* is the best recent account of the early history of the southern colonies. It should be compared with Doyle's *English in America*, vol. 1., chaps. 6–12, and Eggleston's *Beginners of a*

¹ The separation of life in the Southern States influenced their history strongly down to recent times. The people of each State, separated from the rest of the country by long distances and poor communication, were apt to think the State the most important and powerful part of the country.

Nation, bk. 1., chaps. 2 and 3. Lodge's *Short History*, chaps. 1-10, is also useful. Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia* is of prime importance, and not too learned for general use. Of histories of separate colonies and states, Browne's *Maryland*, Cooke's *Virginia*, Moore's *North Carolina*, and Jones's *Georgia* are favorably known. McCrady's *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government* and *South Carolina under the Royal Government* are more elaborate, but indispensable for that colony. There is a life of Oglethorpe by Bruce.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—Mary Johnston's *Prisoners of Hope* and *To Have and To Hold*; N. B. Eyster's *A Colonial Boy*; Tucker's *Hansford*; J. P. Kennedy's *Rob of the Bowl*; W. G. Simms's *Cassique of Kiawah* and *Yemassee*.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

1623-1750

(1) *New York.*

109. The Dutch Settlement of New Netherland has already been narrated (§ 28). Four governors, Peter Minuit, Wouter van Twiller, William Kieft, and Peter Stuyvesant, sent out by the Dutch West India Company, ruled New Netherland successively from 1626 until 1664. By that time, the English colonies to the north and south had grown so strong that they began to feel it to be troublesome and dangerous to have a foreign colony between them. In 1664, King Charles II., claiming that the territory of New Netherland belonged to England by discovery, and that the Dutch were only intruders, granted the territory to his brother, the Duke of York. The duke sent out a force, the same year, under Colonel Nichols, who compelled Stuyvesant, the last Dutch governor, to give up possession. The territory then became the English colonies of New York and New Jersey (§ 118).

110. New York became a royal colony in 1685, when its owner, the Duke of York, succeeded to the throne. A large part of Long Island was settled by Connecticut people, who claimed it as part of their colony; but the duke's power was too great for them to resist, and Long Island became a part of New York. But New York was then no such important power as it has since become.

To the north, it included both banks of the Hudson to Albany. Beyond Albany, there were a few scattered settlements, such as Schenectady, but almost the whole territory was in the possession of the Indians or the French,



PETER STUYVESANT.

and could hardly be considered a part of New York at all. New York was thus a small colony, a narrow strip of land on the Hudson, with a fine harbor and island at the south, and at the northwest an excellent opportunity for growth.

111. Holland had good reason to complain of the conquest of New York, and in 1673, while at war with England, the province was retaken by the Dutch. Many of the people were not sorry for the change; but the

colony was given back to the English when peace was made in 1674.

112. The Settlement of the colony, under the Dutch, had been accomplished by granting large tracts of land to "patroons," that is, men who brought over a number of settlers for their estates. New York was thus different from New England; instead of little townships, divided into farms owned by the farmers, it had large tracts of land owned by patroons, and the farmers were only tenants.¹ On the other hand, it was also different from the southern colonies; for the people lived rather closer together, and had more to do with one another.

113. The English Government of New York was almost always bad. The Duke of York did not allow the people to elect an assembly until 1683, and as soon as he became king, in 1685, he took the privilege away. It was restored by William and Mary in 1691, and was not taken away again. Very many of the governors were men unfit to govern. The people drove one of them out in 1689, and put one of their own number, Jacob Leisler, into his place. Leisler refused to recognize the authority of the new governor, Sloughter, sent out by William and Mary in 1691, and the governor arrested him for high treason. When Leisler had been convicted, Sloughter was persuaded to sign his death-warrant. Other governors were no better than Sloughter. One was believed to be a partner of the pirates who infested the coast; another swindled the colony and robbed its treasury; and another cheated the people by making them pay illegal fees.

114. Pirates, or buccaneers, were very troublesome to all the colonies in their early history, particularly to New York. They made navigation so dangerous that, in 1697,

¹ The patroon system was not changed under the English, and traces of it have remained until our own day (§ 514).

Captain Kidd,¹ a New York shipmaster, was sent against them by the governor. He ran away with the vessel and



NEW YORK CITY IN 1656.

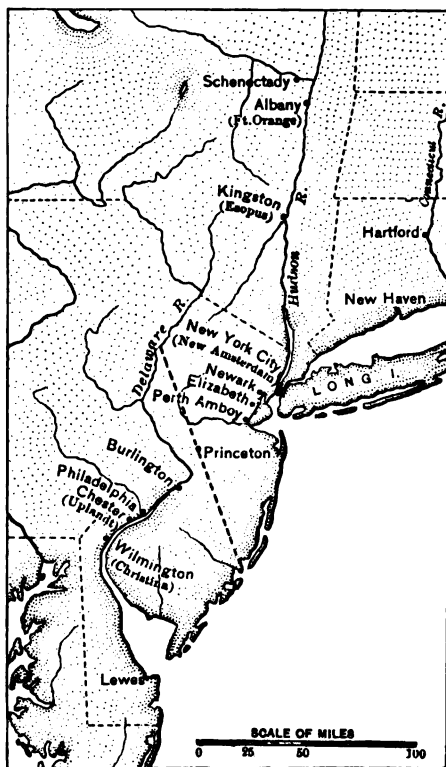
turned pirate himself. He returned some three years afterward, was arrested, tried in England and hanged. Piracy in American waters was finally put down about 1720.

115. Negro Slavery existed in the colony, though there were not so many slaves as in the southern colonies. In 1741, it was believed that the negroes in New York City had made a plot to kill all the whites. Before the excitement ceased, 4 whites and 18 negroes were hanged, 14 negroes were burned at the stake, and 71 negroes were banished. It is almost certain now, however, that there was in reality no such plot.

116. New York City had become one of the most important places on the coast before 1750. Its great advantages were its fine harbor, and the noble river which emptied into it. The other towns on the coast were shut off from the far west by the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains, which follow the Atlantic coast, at a distance of one or two hundred miles from the sea, from Georgia to Maine. But the Hudson River breaks through this

¹ Kidd's name is variously given as William or Robert. There are many stories as to the places in which he is said to have buried his money.

barrier, and thus New York had easy access to Canada and the profitable Indian trade. In 1697, the city contained about 4,300 inhabitants, one third of them being slaves. The city extended from the Battery to a palisaded



THE MIDDLE COLONIES.

wall where Wall Street now runs. All above Wall Street was in the country. The population grew to about 8,500 in 1730, and about 12,000 in 1750.

117. The Growth of the Colony was slow but steady. The population was about 31,000 in 1715, and about

90,000 in 1750. The principal places were New York City, Albany (called by the Dutch Fort Orange), and Kingston. Brooklyn was only a ferry station from New York City to Long Island. To the north and west of Albany, Schenectady was founded in 1661. It was but a frontier village, and was captured and plundered by the French and Indians in 1690, and again in 1748.

(2) *New Jersey.*

118. New Jersey was a part of New Netherland under the Dutch (§ 28). In 1664, the Duke of York granted it to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.¹ In 1676, it was divided, East Jersey going to Carteret, and West Jersey to a company of Quakers, who had bought out Berkeley's interest. In 1702, all the proprietors gave up their rights to the queen, and New Jersey became a royal colony. It had the same governor as New York until 1738; but in that year it became an entirely separate colony.

119. The First Settlement was made in 1664 at Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth), by Puritans from Long Island. Newark was settled by Connecticut people in 1666. Burlington, a Quaker town, founded in 1677, was one of the capitals of the colony; Perth Amboy was the other, and it was thought for a long time that it was to be a greater city than New York. The population of the colony was estimated at 22,500 in 1715, and at about 75,000 in 1750.

120. The Government was at first very satisfactory. The proprietors, in 1665, granted to the people certain "concessions," which were practically a charter. The colony was to be governed by an assembly elected by the

¹ The name New Jersey was given in compliment to Carteret, who had been governor of the island of Jersey in the English Channel.

people, and a governor and council appointed by the proprietors. When New Jersey became a royal colony, the governors often attempted to overrule the assembly, and frequent disputes took place. But the people were very little annoyed by these disputes. Most of them were prosperous farmers, and the mild laws and freedom of the colony attracted many immigrants, particularly Dutch from New York and Long Island. In 1746, the College of New Jersey, the fourth American college, was founded at Elizabethtown; in 1756 it was removed to Princeton and has since remained there.

(3) *Pennsylvania.*

121. The Quakers were persecuted in England, and they, too, longed for an American place of refuge. It was for this reason that some of them had bought a part of New Jersey (§ 118). In 1681, their most influential leader, William Penn, obtained from Charles II., in payment of a debt which the British Government owed to his father, a grant of the territory which is now the State of Pennsylvania.¹ Although he meant this to be a Quaker colony, he did not shut out persons of other religious beliefs, and he did not allow religious persecution of any kind. In 1682, he obtained from the Duke of York what is now the State of Delaware, and added it to his colony (§ 128).

122. The Quakers differed from the Church of England in many respects, but particularly in their refusal to serve as soldiers, or to encourage war in any way. Further, they made it a point of conscience to take no oaths, and

¹ The name Pennsylvania means "Penn's woods" or "Penn's forest country." It was given by the king, not by Penn. The southern boundary was settled only after long disputes with Lord Baltimore (§ 87).

not to take their hats off in the presence of other men. Such ideas and practices were considered highly disrespectful by English magistrates, and the harmless Quakers were sent to jail or otherwise punished for persisting in them.

123. Settlement had been begun already by the Swedes and Dutch, principally in Delaware. Chester (then called Upland) was founded by them in 1643. Penn at once sent out a company of emigrants, and in 1682 came over himself with a still stronger company. He is said to have met the Indians under a great elm-tree, by the side of the Delaware River, where he bought the land from them, and made with them a treaty of peace and good-will which was not broken for seventy years. Early in 1683, he laid out a capital city for the colony, calling it Philadelphia, a name which means "brotherly love."

124. The Government of the new colony was unusually good. The governor was to be appointed by the proprietor; the assembly was to be elected by the people; and the governor and assembly were to make the laws. No one believing "in one Almighty God" was to be annoyed for his religious belief. Christians of every sect could vote or hold office. All this was due to Penn, who made out the plan of government and offered it to the colonists. With some changes, this plan of government remained in force until 1776.

125. Penn and his Province.—Penn was deprived of his province in 1692, because he was suspected of siding with James II.; but in a short time it was given back to him. In 1699, he made another visit to the colony. He died in 1718, and his sons became proprietors. Part of the land had been reserved for them, and as the colony grew older, the people became more discontented with the payment of rents. There were many disputes and much ill

feeling between the people and the proprietors, and during the Revolution the State abolished the rents, paying the proprietors £130,000 (\$650,000) for them.

126. Philadelphia grew rapidly, and was larger than New York City until after the Revolution. In 1740, it had about 12,000 inhabitants, and was as thriving a place as any on the coast. It was noted above other cities for its excellent buildings, its cleanliness, and its care for



WILLIAM PENN.

education. The printing-press was introduced in 1686, and a public high-school in 1689. The University of Pennsylvania dates from 1779, and has absorbed certain other educational institutions established in Philadelphia as early as 1749.

127. The Growth of the Colony was steady. Its population (with Delaware) was estimated at 45,800 in 1715, and about 200,000 in 1750. Most of these were farmers, and Philadelphia was the only important city. The western part of the province, where Pittsburgh now stands, was for many years unsettled (§ 307); and the coal and iron of the eastern part, which now support thriving towns, were quite unknown. No colony except New York had among its settlers such a variety of peoples and languages. As a general rule, the English kept to the southeastern part of the colony, the Dutch and Germans to the east and northeast, and the Scotch and Irish to the central part.

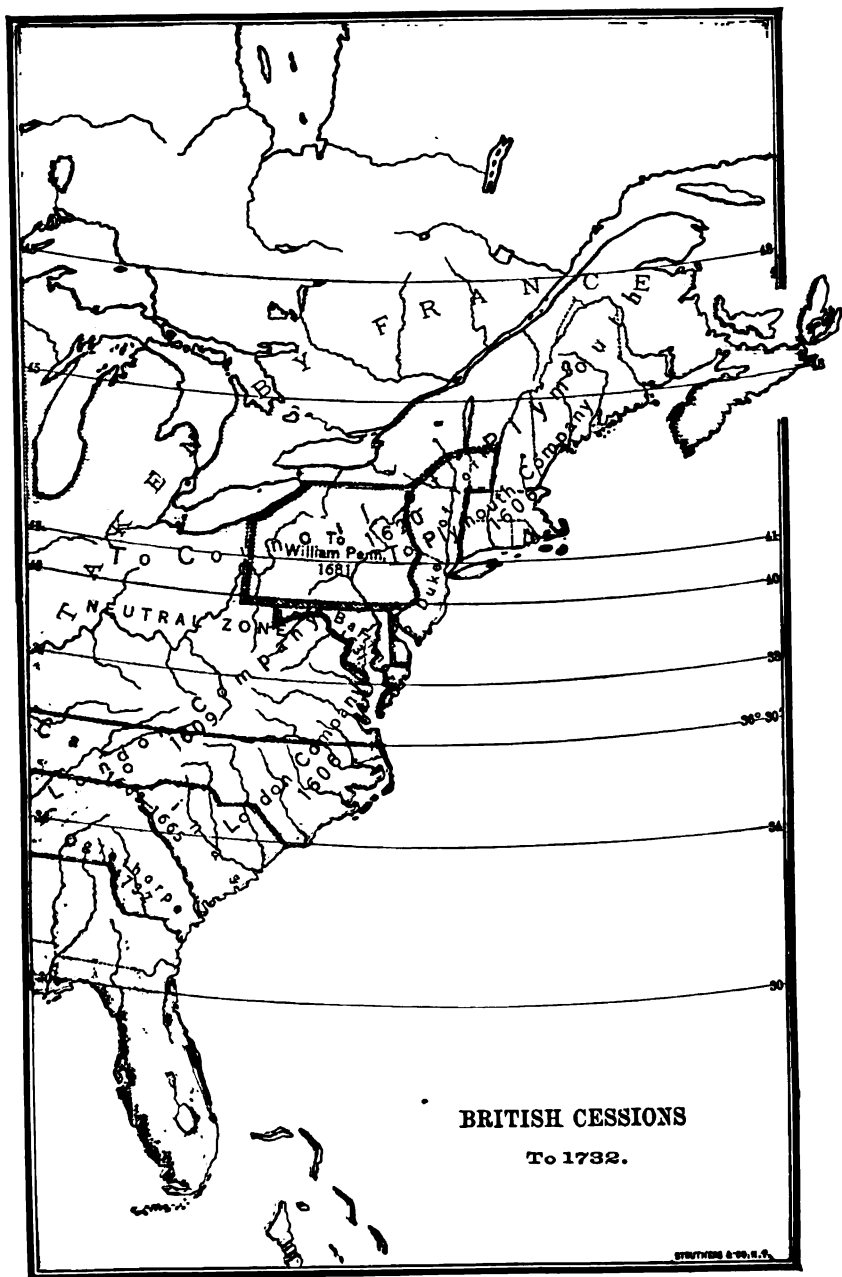
(4) *Delaware.*

128. Delaware, or New Sweden, was settled by the Swedes in 1638, and conquered by the Dutch in 1655 (§ 29). It passed with New Netherland to the Duke of York, who transferred it to Penn in 1682 (§ 121). Its people were allowed a separate assembly in 1703, but had the same governor as Pennsylvania, and were considered a part of Pennsylvania until the Revolution. They then formed a State government of their own, at first under the name of "the Delaware State," and then under that of the State of Delaware. Their colony had previously been known only as "the Territories," or "the three lower counties on the Delaware."¹

(5) *The Colonies in General.*

129. The Population of the American colonies had grown from nothing in 1606 to about 1,260,000 in 1750. We have only estimates of the population at different

¹ Delaware takes its name from the river and bay which front it, and these were named from Lord Delaware, who is said to have visited the bay in 1610.



times, but these estimates, made by careful men, are probably not far from the truth. In 1688, the colonies had about 200,000 inhabitants; in 1714, about 435,000; in 1727, about 600,000; and in 1750, about 1,260,000.¹ Evidently these were growing colonies, growing far faster than England was growing, or than any other country had ever grown. All these people considered themselves Englishmen, and were proud of the name. Most of them had never seen the king, but all were proud of being his subjects. The king of Great Britain had thus a fair chance of becoming more powerful than other kings in Europe, for he had a new and fast-growing kingdom across the Atlantic.

130.* The Assemblies.—The characteristic feature of the government of the English colonies was the assemblies. These were elected by the people, and constituted the law-making bodies of the colonies, although in some colonies the power was shared with a council, appointed by the king. Where not provided for in the charter, as in Massachusetts, they were supposed to act by permission of the king or the proprietor, and subject more or less to instructions given to the governors; but the distance of the colonies from England made necessary the existence of a legislative body close at hand and acquainted with the condition and needs of the colony. When colonization began in North America, the people of Europe as a whole had no share in making laws or in choosing those who did make them, that privilege being confined either to certain families or to certain classes of people. In the colonies, the franchise, or right of voting, was not at first free, but was restricted, for example, to men who had a

¹ Bancroft divides the population in 1754 as follows: New England, 436,000; middle colonies, 380,000; southern colonies, 609,000 (222,000 being slaves); total, 1,425,000.

prescribed amount of property, or who professed a particular religious belief. But the number of those who could vote for members of the assemblies was at first relatively large, and tended constantly to increase. Since laws made by these local legislatures were more satisfactory to the people than those made by some remote body could have been, the assemblies came to be looked upon as valuable safeguards against unfair discrimination or oppression; and when, years afterwards, the British Parliament began to exercise more generally its right to make laws for the colonies, it was the assemblies that led the resistance.

131. The Industry of the Colonies was remarkable. The people grew tobacco, rice, indigo, and other products, which the people of Great Britain were glad to take and pay for with their own manufactures. A great trade with the colonies had thus grown up, and it made both Great Britain and the colonies richer. The colonies were now so much richer and stronger that they were already able to vote money, ships, and men to help the king in his wars. All this increase of wealth and power had hardly cost England or the king anything. The colony of Georgia, the weakest of all, was the only one which had ever received help in money from the British Government.

132.* Great Britain's Feeling seemed to be one more of alarm than of pleasure at the rapid growth of the colonies. The kings of England had always considered the colonies as very subordinate parts of their possessions. The governments of Europe had always looked upon colonies primarily as sources of wealth, whose trade and natural resources were to be managed for the benefit of the mother country. It was to carry out this policy that the Navigation Acts had been passed. In 1696, a Board of

Trade and Plantations had been formed, to watch the progress of the colonies and enforce the Navigation Acts. As the colonies grew richer and more populous, the task of the Board became more difficult; while the colonies, at the same time, found the Navigation Acts an increasing annoyance, and began systematically to evade them.

133. The Scattered Settlements along the coast were at first widely separated. There was a long stretch of forest between each colony and its nearest neighbor; and it was easier for a man at Boston to get to London than to get to New York or Charleston. The colonies, except in New England, had very little to do with their neighbors; and it is for this reason that the history of each colony has so far been given separately. In 1750, things had changed very much. The spaces between the original colonies were now pretty well filled with settlements; and men might travel overland along the whole coast, without running any great danger from Indians, wild beasts, or starvation. In 1740, George Whitefield, the great revivalist preacher, travelled through the whole of the new country, from Georgia to New England. A journey in America was a far more arduous affair than now, however, for the roads were very bad, there were few bridges, and steam was not yet used for travel; but it was far easier than it had been at first. Intercourse between the colonies had become more common. It was now easier for them to act together than to act separately; and, as they did act together from this time, their history must henceforth be given as one.¹

134. Summary.—It has seemed best, so far, to give the

¹ The New England colonies had already often acted together, and even formed a union in 1643. Nearly all the colonies were now to act together in the French and Indian War. All the colonies finally united in resisting the king and Parliament, in beginning the Revolution, and in making a new nation, the United States of America.

history of the different colonies in geographical groups. The leading events in their history, in order of time, are as follows:

1606:	<i>English Colonization</i> begun.....	§ 25
1607:	VIRGINIA first settled at Jamestown.....	31
	1619: First legislative assembly.....	76
	Slavery first mentioned.....	39
	1676: Bacon's Rebellion.....	82
1620:	MASSACHUSETTS first settled at Plymouth.....	45
	1630: Massachusetts Company transferred to America.....	48
	1691: The two colonies united.....	54
	1692: The Salem witchcraft.....	53
1623:	NEW HAMPSHIRE first settled at Dover and Ports- mouth.....	55
	1641: Became part of Massachusetts.....	56
	1691: Became a separate colony.....	56
1623:	NEW YORK settled at New Amsterdam by the Dutch.....	28
	1664: Conquered by the English.....	28
	1691: Leisler's execution.....	113
	1741: Negro plot.....	115
1634:	MARYLAND first settled at St. Mary's.....	86
	1692: Toleration ceased.....	88
	1763: Mason and Dixon's line settled.....	87
1634-6:	CONNECTICUT first settled at Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford.....	58
	1638: New Haven settled.....	60
	1639: The first constitution adopted.....	58
	1665: The two colonies united.....	61
1636:	RHODE ISLAND first settled at Providence.....	62
	1644: Its plantations united.....	63
1638:	DELAWARE first settled by the Swedes.....	29
	1655: Conquered by the Dutch.....	29
	1664: Conquered by the English.....	29
	1682: Sold to Penn.....	121
	1703: Became a separate colony.....	128
1643:	The <i>New England Confederation</i> formed.....	66
1651:	The <i>Navigation Acts</i> begun.....	67
1663:	NORTH CAROLINA first settled at Albemarle.....	90
	1711: The Tuscarora War.....	95
	1729: The colony transferred to the king.....	92

1664: NEW JERSEY first settled at Elizabethtown.....	§119
1702: Became a royal colony.....	118
1738: Became a separate colony.....	118
1670: SOUTH CAROLINA first settled at Old Charlestown...	97
1729: Became a royal colony.....	92
1675: <i>King Philip's War</i> begun.....	68
1682: PENNSYLVANIA settled near Philadelphia.....	123
1683: Philadelphia founded.....	123
1701: The new charter given.....	124
1686: The <i>Andros Government</i> begun.....	70
1702: <i>Queen Anne's War</i> begun.....	71
1710: Port Royal (Annapolis) taken.....	72
1713: <i>Queen Anne's War</i> ended.....	71
1733: GEORGIA first settled at Savannah.....	104
1740: The Spanish War.....	106
1752: Georgia became a royal colony.....	105
1744: <i>King George's War</i> begun.....	71
1745: Louisburg captured.....	72
1748: <i>King George's War</i> ended.....	71

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Dutch life in New Amsterdam.
2. The Quakers in England.
3. The Quakers in New Jersey.
4. A Delaware hundred.
5. The Quaker schism in Pennsylvania.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—The charters, and extracts from the principal grants, are given in MacDonald's *Select Charters*, Nos. 9, 29, 30, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, and 46; the New Jersey "concessions and agreements," *ibid.*, Nos. 31 and 37. Hart's *Contemporaries*, vol. 1., chaps. 22-26, deals with the period covered by this chapter.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The best general account of the middle colonies, and also the most recent, is Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*. Lodge's *Short History*, chaps. 11-17, gives a narrative more closely packed with facts. Of state histories, Roberts's *New York*, Brodhead's *New York*, vols. 1. and 11. (to 1691), Scharf's *Delaware*, Raum's *New Jersey*, Cornell's *Pennsylvania*, and Egle's *Pennsylvania*, part 1., are the most useful;

Lamb's *History of the City of New York* and Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia* are also important. The best life of Penn is that of Janney. Of contemporary Pennsylvania writers, none is so important as Franklin, who made his home in Philadelphia after 1723.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—J. K. Paulding's *Koningsmarke*; Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York*; E. L. Bynner's *The Begum's Daughter*; Eldridge Brooks's *In Leisler's Times*; Cooper's *Water Witch*; Whittier's *Pennsylvania Pilgrim*; Wharton's *Through Colonial Doorways*.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR ENGLISH SUPREMACY

1750-1763

(1) *French Settlement.*

135. English Colonization had now seized firmly on the Atlantic coast of North America, between Canada and Florida, and had there formed thirteen colonies. These colonies were most of them supposed to extend westward to the Pacific Ocean; but their actual population did not extend half as far westward as did their boundaries when they became States. From New England to Georgia the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains were a western barrier for all the colonies, beyond which population had not yet passed. Between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River the whole country was now claimed by the French, who had passed into it from Canada, and called it New France, or Louisiana.¹

136. Canada fell into the hands of the French after 1605, without any opposition from the English (§ 19). Champlain pushed westward and explored western Canada and northern New York: Lake Champlain was named after him. Other Frenchmen followed him,

¹ The French claim really included the whole of western New York also. Properly, the name New France included Canada and all the French possessions in North America. The name Louisiana was given to such French possessions as are now within the United States. After 1763, the name was given to the territory west of the Mississippi (§ 155).

the most enterprising being French missionaries to the Indians. In 1673, one of them, named Marquette,



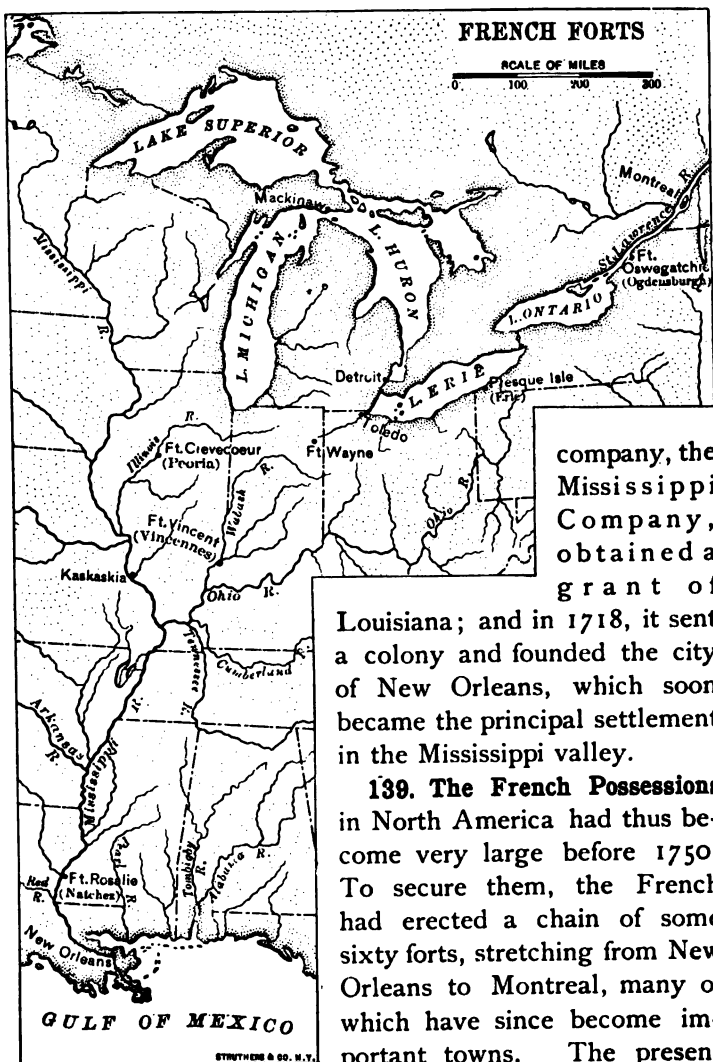
SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

with a trader named Joliet, entered what is now the United States, in search of a great river of which the Indians had told them. They found the Mississippi, and sailed down that river to about the place where De Soto had crossed it (§ 14). In much the same way, French explorers made known a large part of what are now the northwestern States. In 1682, La Salle

sailed down the Mississippi to its mouth, and named the whole region Louisiana. In 1684, he attempted to plant a colony, which he brought from France, at the mouth of the Mississippi, but could not find the river, and sailed on to Texas. Here he was murdered, and his colony was broken up by sickness and starvation.

137. The First French Settlement within the northwestern United States was the mission of St. Mary, near Sault Ste. Marie, now in Michigan. It was established in 1668 (§ 19). Other French missions were gradually established at different points in the northwest, but none of them came to be important places.

138. French Colonization within the United States really began in 1699, when D'Iberville was sent by way of the Gulf of Mexico to find the mouth of the Mississippi. He found it, and fixed a settlement at Biloxi, within the present State of Mississippi. In 1702, he removed it to Mobile, which became his capital. In 1716, a French



company, the Mississippi Company, obtained a grant of

Louisiana; and in 1718, it sent a colony and founded the city of New Orleans, which soon became the principal settlement in the Mississippi valley.

139. The French Possessions in North America had thus become very large before 1750. To secure them, the French had erected a chain of some sixty forts, stretching from New Orleans to Montreal, many of which have since become important towns. The present

cities of New Orleans, Natchez, Vincennes, Fort Wayne, Toledo, Detroit, Ogdensburg, and Montreal are near

enough to the sites of some of these old forts to mark out the general course of the chain. Back of it, toward the Mississippi and the great lakes, were other forts, as at Mackinaw and Peoria. Not all of these forts have grown into cities: some of them have entirely disappeared. One of these is Kaskaskia, on the river of the same name, which was long the most important place in what is now the State of Illinois.

140.* The Weakness of the French empire in America was in the fewness of its inhabitants in comparison with the extent of its territory. The whole population of New France, including Canada, was only about 100,000 in 1750, while the population of the English colonies was nearly fifteen times as large (§ 129). Within the present territory of the United States, east of the Mississippi, there were perhaps not more than 7,500 Frenchmen, and most of these were fur-traders or adventurers, strong enough to keep the Indians in check, but not numerous enough to settle the country. France had never tried to build up its colonies in the same way that England had done, by peopling the country with settlers and their families, and developing agriculture as well as trade. In consequence, the French colonies in America were much more dependent upon France than the English colonies were upon England. Then, too, New France was governed by officials sent from France, many of whom cared nothing for the country, and were often corrupt. But the French commanders were energetic and skilful in defending themselves and harassing the English, and had, moreover, the friendship of the Indians; while their geographical position was one difficult to attack, but relatively easy to defend.

141. The Ohio Company.—Just as Raleigh's unsuccessful colonies came before the successful settlement of the

coast, so a number of unsuccessful English land companies came before the successful settlement of the great West. Their object was to buy up vast tracts of land at a low price, induce settlers to move thither by giving them part of the land, and thus make the rest of the land so valuable as richly to repay all expenses. One of the earliest of these land companies, the Ohio Company, was organized in 1749 by some London merchants and some leading Virginians. Its lands lay in western Pennsylvania, which was then claimed by Virginia (§ 79). The company at once sent out surveyors and traders, and began opening roads for emigrants.

142. The French took the alarm as soon as the Ohio Company was formed, and sent men to secure the country between the Alleghanies and their chain of forts. In 1753, they erected a strong fort at Presque Isle, where Erie now stands, and prepared to build a new chain of forts southward, toward the Ohio River. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, determined to send an agent to remonstrate with the French commander. George Washington (§ 294), then a Virginia land-surveyor, not quite twenty-two years old, but already known for his prudence and clearheadedness, was selected as the agent. He made his way through the wintry wilderness up the Potomac River to the Monongahela, down that river to its junction with the Alleghany, and up the Alleghany until he met the French commander. That officer refused to leave the disputed territory, and Washington returned with what was really a declaration of war.¹

¹ The "French and Indian War" which followed was at first entirely an American war: hostilities did not break out in Europe until 1756 (§ 147).

(2) *The French and Indian War.*

143. Virginia had raised about 400 troops in the mean time, and Washington, who knew the country well, was put in command of them, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.¹ He turned back with them on the road which he had just travelled, for the purpose of protecting a fort which the Ohio Company was building at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, where Pittsburgh now stands. Both parties knew very well the importance of this place, and were pushing to secure it. The Frenchmen won in the race, and captured and strengthened the fort, which they named Fort Duquesne. They then passed on to attack Washington, who was coming down the Monongahela River.

144. The First Fight of the war followed their meeting. Washington, with a part of his force, met an advance party of the French and Indians, and killed or captured nearly all of them. But the French main body was so much superior in numbers that he moved back a few miles up the Monongahela, to a fort which he named Fort Necessity. Here he surrendered, July 4, 1754, on condition that he and his men might return to Virginia. He had done so well with the small force at his command, that he became Virginia's principal military officer for the rest of the war.

145. The English Colonies were now all acting together for the first time in their history. There were South Carolina troops with Washington at Fort Necessity; and all the colonies voted money, men, and arms to help Virginia. Heretofore the colonies had been dragged into

¹ At first the colonel in command was a man named Frye. But he died on the road, leaving the command to Washington.

wars by England; now they were disposed to make war on their own account, for they all felt that this western territory was necessary to their future growth. The British Government was at first disposed to let them fight it out for themselves, and advised them to form a plan of united action. Accordingly, in 1754, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and the New England colonies sent delegates to a meeting at Albany. Here the "Albany plan of union," proposed by Benjamin Franklin, was agreed upon. The Albany plan proposed a congress of not more than seven or less than two delegates from each colony, according to the colony's proportion of taxes paid; and a governor general, appointed by the king, with the power to veto (forbid) any law of the congress which he should consider wrong or unwise. But it looked so much like an American government, independent of Great Britain, that the British Government rejected it; while it gave the king so much power that the colonies rejected it also. It is important, however, as a step towards union.

146. England and France both began to send troops to America, for both knew that war must soon come. The colonies also were everywhere stirring with warlike preparations. In June, 1755, a force of British regulars and provincial (colonial) troops sailed from Boston, and captured the few remaining French forts in Acadia (Nova Scotia). From this time the whole of Acadia (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick) became English territory, as it still remains. The expedition was disgraced by an act of harshness on the part of the English. The French inhabitants were ordered to assemble at their churches. They were then seized and sent southward along the coast to different English colonies; and their houses and crops were burned to prevent their return to their homes. In the same month that Acadia was taken, General Brad-

dock, a brave, obstinate, and self-confident British officer, marched from Virginia through Pennsylvania against Fort Duquesne. He expected to fight the French and Indians in line of battle, and refused to heed the advice of Washington, who was one of his aides, to send scouts in advance. Within a few miles of Fort Duquesne, the French and Indians completely surprised Braddock's long line, killed him and more than half his men, and chased the rest for miles on the road back to Virginia. The only real resistance was made by Washington and his Virginians, who fought from behind trees in Indian fashion, and checked the pursuit. A month later, a New York expedition against Crown Point, under Sir William Johnson, defeated the French and Indians, under Baron Dieskau, near the southern end of Lake George, but did no more. The year 1755 thus closed badly for the English.

147. Declaration of War was made by both England and France in the spring of 1756, so that the war was no longer confined to America. The British Government was at first very inefficient, and sent out incompetent officers to America, so that little was accomplished during the two years 1756 and 1757. The English and provincial forces¹ marched hither and thither, fighting little, and gradually drawing back before their enemies. The French were now commanded by a great soldier, Montcalm. His forces were not large, but he made the most of them. Each English force acted for itself, while he used all his men together against one point after another. He thus, for two years, kept the English out of the disputed territory, captured the few forts which they had

¹ By provincial troops are meant the soldiers furnished by the provinces or colonies. The British troops in America in 1758 numbered about 50,000. Of these, 28,000 were provincials, and 22,000 were regulars.

built along the northern border of New York, and gained all the Indians to his support.

148. The Year 1758 changed all this. One of the greatest men in English history, William Pitt, was called to the head of the British

Government, and everything felt his influence.

Inefficient officers were removed, and the whole English force was thrown upon the French at three points. In July, a sea expedition captured Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island (§ 72). In November, a land expedition captured Fort Duquesne without resistance, and renamed it Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh). The only



WILLIAM PITT.

failure of the year was that of an expedition against Ticonderoga, where Montcalm commanded in person. The British assaulted the French works, and were defeated after losing about 1,600 men. But a part of the English force drove the French out of northwestern New York, and captured Fort Frontenac, on the Canada side of Lake Ontario, where Kingston now stands.

149. These Successes were largely due to the manner in which Pitt brought in the colonies to help the regular troops. Provincial troops took part in all these expeditions, and thus learned to make war and to have confidence in themselves. Many of the American officers who afterward took part in the Revolution received their training in the campaigns of the French and Indian War.

150. The Year 1759 was still more successful. It was known that the English intended to attack Quebec this year, and Montcalm was forced to draw off most of his



JAMES WOLFE.

troops to defend that city. Consequently, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and a strong French fort, Fort Niagara, fell into the hands of the English without much resistance. From Louisburg the English, under General Wolfe, sailed

up the St. Lawrence River to attack Quebec. Their ships gave them command of the river, but above them rose the lofty cliffs on whose top the fortifications of Quebec had been built. The French could not be tempted to come out of their stronghold; and, after a siege of



QUEBEC.

nearly three months, the English were very much discouraged. Finally Wolfe decided to climb the cliffs and find the enemy.

151. Quebec.—On the appointed night, Wolfe's army floated down the river in boats, and was landed on the little river-beach at the foot of the cliffs. All through the night the men were clambering up a path which the French had not taken the trouble to guard; the sailors dragged up eight or ten small cannon; and, in the morning of September 13, the English army was drawn up on

the Plains of Abraham, in front of the upper city. There were still walls to be attacked; but Montcalm, startled by the sudden appearance of the English, moved his army out, and fought a battle on the open plain. Both Wolfe and Montcalm were killed, but the French were completely defeated. Five days afterward, the city was surrendered. Both generals lived long enough to know the result of the battle. Wolfe, when told of it, said, "Then I die happy." Montcalm, when told that he must die, said, "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

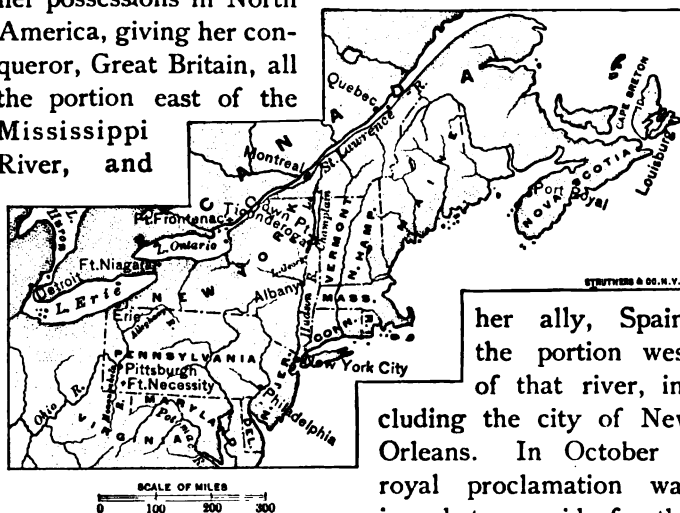
152. The Conquest of Canada followed in 1760. Montreal surrendered to the English. Then the other French forts were given up as rapidly as English troops could be sent to take them. The French troops were sent home to France, and the French dominion in North America was over.¹ Many of the Indians disliked to see the British troops holding the forts in their territory. In 1763, Pontiac, an Ottawa chief living near Detroit, formed a league of Indian tribes to destroy the newcomers. But the plan was revealed by a friendly Indian; the attack on Detroit was beaten back; and the Indians, after some hard fighting, begged for peace.

153. Spain entered the war, in 1762, to assist France. In that year, an English expedition, with many provincial troops in it, sailed to the Spanish island of Cuba, and captured the rich city of Havana. The people of the colonies now sent out privateers against Spanish commerce; and the growth of the colonies was shown by the fact that their privateers in this war outnumbered, in

¹ Though the war was over on the continent of North America, it continued elsewhere for about three years. England and France were still fighting on the ocean, and wherever either could reach the other's dominions.

vessels, guns, and men, the whole English navy of 150 years before, when the colonies were founded.

154.* The Peace of Paris closed the war in 1763. Great Britain had completely conquered both France and Spain, and the two conquered nations consented to surrender to her the whole of North America east of the Mississippi. Spain gave up Florida to Great Britain in exchange for Havana (§ 153). France gave up practically all her possessions in North America, giving her conqueror, Great Britain, all the portion east of the Mississippi River, and



THE FRENCH WAR.

her ally, Spain, the portion west of that river, including the city of New Orleans. In October a royal proclamation was issued, to provide for the government of the region

acquired from France, and regulate trade with the Indians. The territory ceded to Great Britain was divided into four governments, Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada. The southern boundary of Quebec, and the northern boundaries of the Floridas, were followed later in defining the northern and southern boundaries of the United States in 1783 (§ 263). The southern boundary of Georgia was extended to the St. Mary's River. The

region between Quebec and the Floridas, and west of the Appalachian Mountains, was reserved as an Indian country, and the governors of the English colonies were forbidden to make any grants of land therein. The Indian trade was declared to be free to all English subjects, on the condition of obtaining a license from a governor.

155. Louisiana.—Spain kept the name of Louisiana for the territory west of the Mississippi River, which she had received from France. It covered, in general, the great region between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River, from British America to the Gulf of Mexico (§ 334). Almost all this region, however, was then a wilderness, excepting small portions of the present States of Louisiana and Missouri. New Orleans was the only important city. St. Genevieve was the oldest settlement in Missouri. St. Louis was founded in 1764.¹

156. The Leading Events of the war are as follows:

1754-7: *French Success.*

1754: Surrender of Fort Necessity.....	§ 144
Albany Plan of Union.....	145
1755: Braddock's defeat.....	146
Conquest of Nova Scotia (English success).....	146
Battle of Lake George (English success)	146
1756: War declared.....	147
1756-7: General French success.....	146

1758-63: *English Success.*

1758: Pitt becomes head of the British Government.....	148
Capture of Louisburg.....	148
Capture of Fort Duquesne.....	148
Battle of Ticonderoga (French success)	148
1759: Capture of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Niagara.....	150
Capture of Quebec.....	151
1760: Conquest of Canada.....	152

¹ One of the founders of St. Louis, Pierre Chouteau, lived in the city until his death in 1849, and witnessed the enormous changes in its condition.

1762: Capture of Havana.....	§ 153
1763: Pontiac's conspiracy.....	152
Peace of Paris.....	154

(3) *State of the Colonies.*

157. The Population of the colonies was about 2,000,000 in 1760; and the colonies had grown not only in numbers, but in strength and confidence. Their men had fought beside British regulars, and had sometimes held their ground when the regulars had run away. Thirty thousand of them had given up their lives in the war, and many of the colonists were inclined to feel and say that the colonies had done more than their share of the fighting. None of the colonies had yet spread beyond the Alleghanies, but a few adventurous hunters were in the habit of crossing the mountains yearly; and they brought back such favorable reports of the beauty and fertility of the new country that settlements there were begun within a few years.¹

158. In Wealth, the colonies were growing still faster, and they began to look like a well-settled country. The people had become comfortable and even prosperous, and some of them were considered wealthy. Agriculture had improved, and a great variety of crops was grown. The Navigation Acts (§ 67) had not destroyed trade. In 1700, the colonies had sent to England about \$1,300,000 worth of produce, and received about the same amount of English manufactures. In 1760, they sent about four times as much, and received nearly seven times as much. All trade to other countries than England was illegal, but was nevertheless carried on largely. Newspapers and

¹ The first settlement in Tennessee, led by James Robertson, was made in 1768; the first in Kentucky, led by Daniel Boone, in 1769. There was no effort to settle the country north of the Ohio River for nearly twenty years to come.

books had become common since the first American printing-press had been set up at Cambridge, in 1639. The establishment of King's College (now Columbia) in New York City, in 1754, increased the number of colleges to six.¹

159. The Spirit of Union in the colonies had grown still more rapidly. During the war, the colonists had at first called themselves provincials, to distinguish themselves from the British. Now, for the first time, some of them began to call themselves Americans, instead of Englishmen, Virginians, or New-Englanders. The colonies were no longer altogether separate peoples. They had come to have common interests and a common spirit, and they were now very certain to unite against any enemy that was dangerous to all of them, just as they had united against the French power of the north and west. There was no longer any need to unite against the French; but it was certain that they would act toward any new enemy, even their mother country, just as they had acted toward the French. It ought to have been evident in England that the colonies in North America had come to be so strong and so united that it was now needful for the British Government to be wise and prudent, in order that it might not make itself appear to be their enemy.

160. The British Government was neither wise nor prudent. Most of its power was in the hands of the Parliament, which was at that time not elected by the whole people. By artful contrivance or by accident, the laws of election were such that a few rich men, nobles or

¹ The six colleges were Harvard, in Massachusetts, founded in 1636; William and Mary, in Virginia, in 1692; Yale, in Connecticut, in 1701; the College of New Jersey (now Princeton), in 1746; King's (now Columbia), in New York, in 1754; and the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, in 1779 (§ 126).

landowners, controlled the election of most of the members of the House of Commons. In most matters, these richer men were divided into two parties, which opposed one another. In regard to American affairs, however, they were now united, by reason of heavy taxes, in a claim which could not help making them the enemy of the colonies.

161. Taxes in Great Britain were now large, and most of them fell on the richer men. Heretofore Englishmen had thought little about America, considering it only a wilderness, from which no money could be obtained. Now they saw the colonies voting large sums of money to carry on the war, and they at once began to think of lightening their own taxes by laying taxes on the colonies. The Parliament had forced the kings to yield to it the power to lay taxes in Great Britain: it now began to claim a right to lay taxes on the colonies, even against the will of the colonies themselves. The English debt¹ had steadily increased from about \$3,300,000 in 1689 to about \$700,000,000 in 1763. Great Britain claimed that much of the debt had arisen in defending the colonies from the French, and that the colonies ought to be willing to be taxed for a part of the interest. The colonies claimed that neither they nor the French colonies had desired war, that they had been dragged into war by France and England, and that the English colonies had fully paid their share of the expense. At any rate, they were determined not to submit to be taxed by another people.

162. The Feeling of the Colonies was that the claim of the Parliament was unjust. Each colony was ruled by

¹ A nation very often provides for wars or other unexpected expenses by borrowing money. The written promises to pay are called bonds, and the nation pays interest on them yearly, raising the money for the payments by taxes.

its own assembly, or legislature, elected by nearly the whole people. As the representatives of the people, these assemblies alone had always taxed the people; and the king's governors had only named the amount which they desired. The colonists had thus always taxed themselves, through their assemblies, as the people of Great Britain had taxed themselves, through their Parliament. The colonists were not allowed to send representatives to Parliament. Englishmen have never submitted willingly to be taxed by a body in which they are not represented, and the colonists were already too strong to be forced to submit. On this question of "Taxation without Representation," the Parliament and the colonies were now to quarrel for twelve years until force was used: then came the Revolutionary War.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. The government of New France.
2. The exploration of the Mississippi.
3. The early life of Washington.
4. Plans of colonial union.
5. The expulsion of the Acadians.
6. The Seven Years' War in Europe.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Charters* gives extracts from the treaties of Ryswick (No. 45), Utrecht (No. 47), Aix-la-Chapelle (No. 51), and Paris (No. 54); the royal proclamation of 1763 (No. 55); and the Albany plan of union (No. 52). Texts of a number of other plans of union are collected in *American History Leaflets*, No. 14. The extracts in Hart's *Contemporaries*, vol. II., chaps. 1-20, deal with various aspects of the period 1689-1763; chaps. 17-20 relate to the French and Indian wars.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The period from 1700-1750 has been scantily treated by historians. Parkman's *Old Régime in Canada, Frontenac and New France, Half-century of Conflict*,

Montcalm and Wolfe, and *Conspiracy of Pontiac* are of the first importance, and tell with great skill the history of New France; the same author's *Pioneers of France in the New World* and *Jesuits in North America* contain also more or less which falls within the limits of this chapter. On the English side there is nothing equally good; the most scholarly is Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. v., chaps. 1, 7, and 8. The separate accounts in Lodge's *Short History* extend to 1765. Useful brief narratives are Hart's *Formation of the Union*, chaps. 1 and 2; Sloane's *French War and the Revolution*, chaps. 1-9. Early schemes of colonial union are discussed in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, chap. 4.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—Franklin's *Autobiography*; Thackeray's *The Virginians*; Cooper's *Leather-stocking Tales*; Gilbert Parker's *The Seats of the Mighty*; Longfellow's *Evangeline*; C. G. D. Roberts's *The Forge in the Forest*; J. E. Cooke's *The Youth of Jefferson, Fairfax*, and *Doctor Van Dyke*.

CHAPTER VIII

COLONIAL RESISTANCE

1763-1775

(1) *The Stamp Act.*

163. British Regulation of the Colonies.—Laws to regulate the colonies and their affairs had frequently been passed by Parliament. Some of these, such as the act to establish a post-office system, were useful to the colonies, and were accepted by them willingly. Others, such as the Navigation Acts and the acts to forbid manufactures in the colonies (§ 67), they had not been strong enough to resist openly, but had evaded or disobeyed as far as possible. Of late years, whenever the British Government had tried to enforce these laws, it had failed. In 1761, when the customs officers in Massachusetts tried to obtain writs of assistance from the courts, empowering them to search houses and stores for smuggled goods, James Otis (§ 169) made an impassioned plea against such a violation of the hereditary liberties of Englishmen. In 1764, soon after peace was made, Parliament announced its intention to raise a revenue in the colonies. It went no further at the time, but waited to see how the colonies would receive the proposition. But the colonies were, as usual, very busy with their own affairs, and paid little attention to the declaration of Parliament.

164. The Stamp Act was passed by Parliament in the spring of 1765. It had been prepared by the head of the British Government, George Grenville, and was to go into force in the following November. From that time, no newspapers or almanacs could be published in the colonies, no marriage-certificate could be given, and no documents could be used in lawsuits, unless stamps, bought from British government agents, were placed on them, or the documents themselves were printed on stamped paper.¹ Laws were also passed to enforce the Navigation Acts, and to send soldiers to America. It was by no means certain how long the peace with France (§ 154) would last, and England thought it well to keep a few thousand troops in the colonies. The expenses of the soldiers were to be paid out of the money received from the sale of the stamps.



BRITISH STAMP.

165. In America, when the news of the Stamp Act reached it, there was no longer any want of attention. All the colonies hummed with the signs of resistance. Able and eloquent men, like James Otis in Massachusetts, and Patrick Henry in Virginia,² only spoke for the whole

¹ Such stamp-duties are one of the easiest ways of paying taxes. They have been used since, and are still used, in this country. We submit to such taxes now because they are laid by ourselves through our representatives, and, if the people think the taxes unjust, they can change the taxes by changing their representatives. The colonists resisted the taxes because they were laid by the representatives of another people. They knew that, if they submitted in this little matter, they would soon be taxed in far heavier ways, and yet would never be able to change the representatives or the taxes.

² Patrick Henry, a young lawyer and brilliant orator, was a member of the Virginia assembly. In his speech on the Stamp Act, he named several tyrants who had been killed. "Cæsar," said he, "had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.—" He was interrupted by cries of "Treason!"

people in declaring that the colonies would never submit.



PATRICK HENRY.

The assemblies, as fast as they met, declared that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies. Associations, called Sons of Liberty, were formed to help the resistance. As soon as the stamps were sent over, mobs seized and burned them, or prevented them from being offered for sale; and the stamp-officers were frightened into resigning. When the day came for the act to go into force, there were no stamps to be bought, and no officers to sell them. The Stamp Act had failed.

166. The Stamp-Act Congress, the first sign of united resistance (§ 159), met at New York City, October 7, 1765. It had been proposed by Virginia and Massachusetts about the same time. All but four of the colonies sent delegates to it; and all the colonies supported it. It had no authority to make laws; but it agreed on a declaration of the rights of the colonies, and sent petitions to the king and Parliament to respect those rights. The language of the congress was carefully made as gentle as

When the noise died away, he concluded: "George III. may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." His resolutions, adopted by the assembly, were the boldest declaration of colonial rights that had yet been made.

possible; but its meeting was evidently a sign of danger, if the attempt should be made to punish any one for resisting the Stamp Act.

167. The British Government was taken aback by the stir in America. English manufacturers petitioned for the repeal of the Stamp Act, for the American merchants and people had agreed not to buy any more English goods until the repeal should take place. Pitt and other friends of the colonies in Parliament urged the repeal. Finally, there was a change of ministry in Great Britain, another political party came into power, and early in 1766 the act was repealed. Parliament still declared its *right* to tax the colonies, if it should wish to do so; but the Americans were convinced that it would never again attempt to do so, and were willing to make the repeal pleasant for Great Britain. And so, for more than a year, they endeavored in every way to show their affection for the mother country. Some difficulties yet remained. The New York assembly refused to furnish supplies to the British troops, as Parliament had directed; and the assemblies of some of the other colonies engaged in small quarrels with their governors; but the colonists in general were very anxious to show that they were "loyal subjects of the king—God bless him!"

168. The Right of Parliament to regulate the trade of the colonies had not hitherto been denied by the colonists (§ 67). They had not thought very much about the matter, but they knew that Parliament paid for a large navy to protect trade, and they agreed that Parliament had the right to regulate the trade which was thus protected. They had therefore submitted to the Navigation Acts, though they obeyed them as little as possible. But the unfortunate Stamp Act had compelled the colonists to think about the matter, and many of them began

to think that a Parliament in which they were not represented had no more right to interfere with their property on the sea than on the land.



GEORGE III.

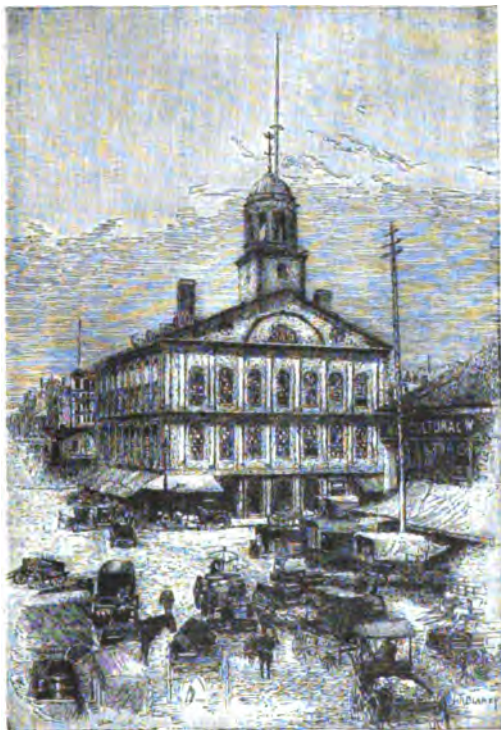
At first, they only suggested different means by which members from the colonies might be admitted to Parliament. Many eminent men in Great Britain desired such an arrangement, and it is possible that it might have been successful. But the king, an honest but very obstinate man, had lofty ideas of his own dignity, and was determined to make the colonies

submit without debate. His friends in Parliament now began a new scheme, which increased all the previous difficulties a hundredfold.

169. Commercial Taxation.—In 1767, Parliament passed an act to lay taxes on tea and a few other articles exported to America; another to send revenue commissioners to America, to secure obedience to the law; and another ordering the New York assembly to pass no more laws until it should furnish supplies to the soldiers (§ 167). These acts left the colonists no choice. They had now no time to devise plans for being represented in Parliament. Their first business was to resist what they now began to consider a foreign tyranny.

As Massachusetts was the leading commercial colony, much of the first resistance centred there. Its leaders were James Otis, an eloquent speaker, who afterward became insane; John Hancock, a Boston merchant; John Adams; a young lawyer, afterward President; Samuel

Adams, one of the first advocates of independence; and Benjamin Franklin, the colony's agent and adviser in



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

London. The leading royalists were Governor Thomas Hutchinson, a native of the colony, and his brother-in-law Andrew Oliver, one of the council.

170. Whigs and Tories.—For nearly six years the colonists kept up a peaceable resistance to the taxing acts of Parliament. The resistance took the shape of a general agreement by the people not to buy, sell, or use the articles on which the taxes had been laid, so as to avoid

paying the taxes. Those who adopted this plan willingly, and who supported the colonies against the mother country, took the name of Whigs. Those who refused to resist the mother country in any way were called Tories.¹ As the Whigs were in a majority, and were very much in earnest, the few Tories were compelled by bodily fear to join in the general agreement.

171. The Six Years' Struggle, though it was meant to be peaceable, was continually resorting to open violence.



JOHN HANCOCK.

In 1768, the revenue commissioners in Boston seized John Hancock's sloop *Liberty*, and a mob chased them to a British frigate in the harbor. Four British regiments, under General Gage, then took possession of Boston. There was constant bad feeling between the Boston people and the soldiers, or "red-coats"; insulting language was used on both sides; and there were a number of street-fights with sticks, fists, or snowballs. All this resulted in the so-called

"Boston Massacre," March 5, 1770, in which the soldiers fired on the people, killed three, and wounded many others. In New York, a little earlier, the people

¹ Whig and Tory had for many years been the names of the two great political parties in England (§ 479).

beat the soldiers in a street-fight. In North Carolina, the governor defeated a part of the people in a pitched battle (§ 94). In 1772, a number of the Rhode Island people captured and burned a royal vessel, the *Gaspée*, which had been unpleasantly active in collecting duties from vessels belonging to Providence. Those who took part in such affairs were evidently growing bolder, and any attempt to punish them, if they had been caught, would have met with resistance from the colonies, and that would have been war.

172. Parliament and the Assemblies.—All these affairs occasioned much anger in Parliament, though it was not easy to see what was to be done to prevent or punish them. Angry resolutions declaring the Massachusetts people rebels were passed, together with acts to make the collection of taxes more certain. The assemblies answered by declaring their own rights, and denying the right of Parliament to pass any such laws. The colonists cared very much more for the resolutions of their own assemblies than they did for those of Parliament, and their resistance became so much the bolder. In 1772, Parliament ordered those who had burned the *Gaspée* to be sent to England for trial, if they should be caught. Again the assemblies denied the right of Parliament to pass such a law; and the colonists were ready to resist the enforcement of it. The plain question had come to be whether Parliament was or was not to govern the colonies as it saw fit.

173. The Tea Tax.—In 1770, Parliament tried a change of plan. The taxes were taken off all the articles except tea, and the tax on tea was fixed at only threepence, or about six cents, a pound. Arrangements were made with English tea-merchants, in 1773, to send cargoes of tea to America at a price threepence lower than that which had always been paid, so that the price would be no greater

than it had always been, even after the tax was paid. It was hoped that in this way, when the tea was distributed through the colonies, not only the Tories, but the women, and all who liked to drink tea, would buy it at the old price, without seeing that they were really paying the taxes and obeying Parliament.

174. This Plan was an ingenious way of getting around the difficulty, but the Americans resisted with a kind of angry contempt. At Charleston they stored the cargoes of tea in damp cellars, where the tea was soon spoiled. At New York, Philadelphia, and other places, they refused to allow the tea-ships to land their cargoes, and sent them back to England. At Boston they tried to do the same thing, but the British officers would not allow the ships to leave the harbor. The Boston people therefore took a more violent means, which is commonly called the "Boston Tea Party." An orderly mob, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships, December 16, 1773, and threw the 340 chests of tea into the harbor. In one way or another, at all the towns on the coast, the colonists were successful in their efforts to prevent the tea from being distributed through the colonies to tempt the people to buy it. Parliament was again defeated.

175. The Four Intolerable Acts.—Parliament now so completely lost its temper that it took the last steps to open conflict. It passed, among other measures, four acts which the colonies could not help resisting. The first was the Boston Port Act: it forbade all vessels to leave or enter Boston harbor. Its object was to punish the Boston people by destroying their trade; but its effect was to anger all the colonists against Parliament. The second was the Massachusetts Government Act: it changed the charter of that colony so as to take away the government from the people, and give it to the king's agent. The

effect of this was to unite all the colonies in resistance, for they all felt that they would soon meet the same treatment themselves if they allowed Massachusetts to be so treated. The third was the Administration of Justice Act: it ordered that Americans who should be charged with murder because of any efforts to enforce the laws should be sent to England for trial. The fourth was the Quebec Act: it made the country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi a part of Canada. Its effect was also to unite the colonies, for they felt that this territory belonged to them; that the king had given it to them (§ 25), and they had helped to conquer it from the French; and that the Parliament had no right to take it away. Parliament expected to enforce these acts by its standing army in the colonies (§ 164).

176. The Excitement in America now rose higher than it had ever done before. The assemblies passed resolutions severely condemning Parliament, and many of them requested the people to keep the day of the shutting up of Boston as a day of fasting and prayer. In most of the royal colonies the assemblies spoke so boldly that the governors dismissed them, and they did not meet again as part of the royal government. The excitement was so great, and the calls for a Continental Congress¹ were so numerous, that delegates were chosen almost by common consent, and without a summons. Georgia alone took no part in the Congress, though her people sympathized with it.²

177. The First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. It agreed upon a new declaration

¹ "Continental" had already come to have very much the same meaning that "American" has now. It meant *general*, belonging to the whole continent, not to one colony or a part of them. Thus the Stamp-Act Congress (§ 166), from only nine of the colonies, was not a "Continental" Congress.

² The action of the governor prevented the appointment of delegates.

of rights: it asserted the right of the colonies to govern and tax themselves, and named eleven acts of Parliament which were attacks upon these rights. It sent an address to the people of Great Britain and a petition to the king, but did not now petition Parliament. It drew up an agreement, called The Association, which was signed by very many of the colonists, not to buy goods from Great Britain, or sell to British merchants, until the objectionable acts were repealed by Parliament. It commended the people of Massachusetts for their peaceable resistance, and declared that, if Parliament should use force to make Massachusetts submit, all the other colonies would use force to help her. Finally, it called a new Congress for the following May, and adjourned.

178. Representation as a question had now taken a new form. At first, the colonies had demanded that Parliament should not tax the colonies while the colonies were not represented in it; that is, that there should be "No *Taxation* without Representation." Now they demanded that Parliament should pass no laws whatever about the colonies while the colonies were not represented in it; that is, that there should be "No *Legislation* without Representation."

179.* Suspension of Royal Government.—The people of the colonies were much more inclined to forcible resistance than was the Congress, whose language, notwithstanding its firmness, had been temperate and restrained. Everywhere there was much confusion. In New England, General Gage had been appointed governor of Massachusetts, and held Boston with a British garrison; but his authority was hardly recognized beyond his line of troops, and most of the work of government was carried on by the towns. Elsewhere, the royal governors attempted to suppress the colonial assemblies, and the people fell back

either upon their local governments, as in Massachusetts, or upon legislatures irregularly chosen. Committees of Correspondence, as they were called, were busy collecting arms and military supplies, organizing and drilling companies of militia, and preparing for war in case it should come. The feeling against Great Britain was most intense in Massachusetts, and it seemed likely that the first conflict would occur there if Gage should attempt to enforce the acts of Parliament against the colony. It must be remembered, however, that all this vigorous resistance did not indicate any general desire for independence. The colonies were prepared to resist, by force if need be, demands of Great Britain which they regarded as illegal or unjust; but at heart the people still loved the mother country, and were not to assert their independence until, in the judgment of Congress, no other course was left to them.

(2) *Lexington and Concord.*

180. Massachusetts, at the opening of the year 1775, was much like a powder-magazine, which the first spark would explode. The provincial assembly, which now governed the colony, had collected powder and arms, and had ordered 20,000 "minute-men" to be enrolled and to be ready to march at a minute's warning. Gage, in Boston, felt so insecure that he began to erect fortifications on the neck of land which joined the town to the mainland, and sent out spies into the surrounding country to find out what the people were doing. Finally, he discovered that military stores had been collected at Concord, a village about twenty miles from Boston. He ordered out 800 men to destroy them, and this was the spark which brought on the Revolutionary War. Secret as the movement was meant to be, signals of it were sent

by the Boston people to the mainland; and, all through the night, men were riding through the country, rousing the minute-men.

181. Lexington is a village on the road between Boston and Concord. As the British marched into it, just before sunrise, April 19, 1775, they found about sixty half-armed minute-men assembled on the village green. There was a hasty order from the British officer, Major Pitcairn, a volley from his men, and a few answering shots. Eight of the minute-men were killed, many were wounded, and the rest dispersed. This was the first blood of the Revolution. The British then marched on to Concord, dispersed the minute-men who had collected there, and destroyed the supplies. They then prepared to return to Boston. By this time the whole country was up; for miles around the church-bells were ringing wildly; and the minute-men from the surrounding towns were hurrying toward Concord.

182. The British Retreat was orderly at first, the troops steadily returning the fire which met them from every house, fence, and rock along the roadside. But the numbers of the minute-men were increasing; their fire was deadly; and the retreat became more disorderly. At Lexington they met 900 fresh troops from Boston, with cannon, who sheltered them for a few minutes, while they lay on the ground and rested, "their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like dogs after a chase." The whole British force then set out for Boston. The minute-men kept up the pursuit as hotly as ever until, toward night, the worn-out regulars found shelter on the waterside, under the guns of the ships of war.¹

¹ The British loss was 273 in killed, wounded, and missing. The rebels, as the British called the minute-men, lost 88. There were not more than 400 of the minute-men engaged at any one time.

183. Boston was now besieged. Many of the minute-men, who had kept up the pursuit, remained in front of Boston to attack any of the regulars who might venture to come out. As the news of the fight spread abroad, men from the different New England colonies started for Boston, and within a few days the town was closely shut up, except by sea. This state of affairs was nothing else than war. The agents of Parliament had used force; the Massachusetts men had used force in return; and the other colonies were now to use force to help Massachusetts, as they had already declared they would do. The American Revolution had begun, and with it the *national* history of the United States of America (§ 190).

(3) *State of the Colonies.*

184. The Population of the Colonies was about 2,600,000 in 1775. If this seems small, compared with the 70,000,000 and more now dwelling in the United States, we must bear in mind that England and Wales contained only 6,400,000 persons in 1750. And the English population increased very slowly, while that of the colonies was doubling steadily about every twenty-five years.

Population has been wonderfully changed since 1775. The population of the "old thirteen" in 1775, and of the first thirteen States in 1890, was as follows:

1775.	1890.
Virginia 560,000	New York 5,997,853
Massachusetts 360,000	Pennsylvania 5,258,014
Pennsylvania 300,000	Illinois 3,826,351
North Carolina 260,000	Ohio 3,672,316
Maryland 220,000	Missouri 2,679,184
Connecticut 200,000	Massachusetts 2,238,943
South Carolina 180,000	Texas 2,235,523
New York 180,000	Indiana 2,192,404
New Jersey 130,000	Michigan 2,093,889
New Hampshire 80,000	Iowa 1,911,896
Rhode Island 50,000	Kentucky 1,858,635
Delaware 40,000	Georgia 1,837,353
Georgia 30,000	Tennessee 1,767,518

Only four of the thirteen of 1775 appear in the first thirteen of 1890. The population of the other States in 1890 will be found in Appendix IV.

185.* The Difficulty of Governing such a growing population, without allowing it any share in the government, would have been exceedingly great, even if nature had placed it close to Great Britain. It was far more difficult to govern it across a stormy ocean, 3,000 miles wide, over which troops had to be carried in sailing-vessels, often taking months to make the passage, or waiting weeks for fair weather. But Great Britain was governed at the time by men who represented the trading and aristocratic classes only, and who cared more about lightening their own taxes, and making a large profit out of the American trade, than they did about giving the colonies good government. These men saw no reason why America should not submit absolutely to the king and Parliament. The attempt to enforce obedience cost the British Empire the larger part of its American territory.

186. In Wealth the colonies were still growing. Their trade with Great Britain and other countries had been injured by the troubles of the past twelve years. The British war-vessels on the coast no longer allowed foreign trade, but seized every vessel that took part in it; and the colonists had ceased to trade with Great Britain in many articles. To make up for this, there was a great increase in colonial manufactures. Enterprising men began to make silk and other goods, which Great Britain had forbidden to be manufactured in the colonies (§ 67, note); and the different colonies encouraged them by voting money to help them. During the Revolution, the colonists even began to make powder and other munitions of war.

187. In Literature the productions of the colonists were as yet almost entirely political; and in this field their

work was certainly admirable. Their addresses and petitions, their declarations of rights, and their declaration of independence (§ 206) cannot well be read without being admired. Poetry, music, and the drama hardly existed; but two fine painters, Copley and West, had appeared. New colleges were springing up: Rhode Island College (now Brown University) was founded at Providence in 1764; Dartmouth College, at Hanover, N. H., in 1769; and Queen's College (now Rutgers College), at New Brunswick, N. J., in 1770. There were but 14 newspapers in all New England, 4 in New York, 9 in Pennsylvania, 2 each in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, 3 in South Carolina, and 1 in Georgia: 37 in all.

188. Slavery had grown much faster in the South than in the North. In New England there were signs that it would not last much longer; and some of the courts began to declare it illegal, and to give the slaves their freedom. Vermont (§ 65) never permitted slavery. The first Continental Congress recommended that the slave-trade should be stopped, and all the colonies agreed; but this was not because the Congress wanted to put an end to slavery, but because the American slave-trade was particularly profitable to British merchants. For a time—perhaps all through the Revolution—no slaves were brought into the country. As soon as the Revolution was ended, commerce revived, and the slave-trade with it; but by this time it was confined to the Southern States, for the Northern States had forbidden it for themselves.¹

189. The Leading Events of this twelve years' struggle against England were as follows:

¹ In 1715, there were 13,000 negro slaves north of Mason and Dixon's line (§ 87), and 47,000 south: 60,000 in all. In 1775, there were 50,000 north, and 450,000 south: 500,000 in all.

1763-6: <i>Internal Taxation</i>	§ 163
1764: Parliament claims the right to tax the colonies.....	163
1765: The Stamp Act passed.....	164
Stamp-Act Congress.....	166
1766: The Stamp Act repealed.....	167
1767-73: <i>Commercial Taxation</i>	168
1767: Parliament lays taxes on commerce... The Americans give up trade in the articles taxed.....	169 170
1768: Boston occupied by British troops....	171
1770: The Boston massacre.....	171
The taxes removed, except that on tea.....	173
1772: Burning of the <i>Gaspée</i>	171
1773: Tea sent to America.....	174
The colonies refuse to receive it.....	174
Boston Tea Party.....	174
1774-5: <i>Legislation</i>	175
1774: Boston Port Act; Massachusetts Act; Transportation Act; and Quebec Act passed.....	175
First Continental Congress.....	177
The Association.....	177
1775: <i>War</i>	181
1775: Lexington and Concord fights.....	181
Siege of Boston.....	183

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. English politics, 1763-1775.
2. Why did not *all* the English colonies in America oppose Parliament and the king?
3. Committees of correspondence.
4. Parliamentary interference, prior to 1763, with trade and manufactures in the colonies.
5. New England and the slave-trade.
6. The organization of resistance in a particular colony (*e.g.*, New Hampshire).

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Charters* gives a form of a writ of assistance (No. 53), and the texts of the Stamp Act (No. 57), Quartering Acts (Nos. 58 and 71), the resolutions

of the Stamp Act Congress (No. 59), the Declaratory Act of 1766 (No. 60), the Townshend Acts (Nos. 61-64), the Massachusetts circular letter (No. 65), the Virginia resolutions of 1769 and 1773 (Nos. 66 and 67), the acts of 1774 (Nos. 68-70), and the "Declaration and Resolves" and "Association" of the first Continental Congress (Nos. 72 and 73). Numerous miscellaneous documents are collected in Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*. The collected writings of American statesmen, especially Washington, Franklin, John Adams, and Jefferson, are of the highest importance.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—Most of the works on the Revolution enumerated under Chapter IX. deal also with the period covered by this chapter. The following are of especial importance here: Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*; Weedon's *Economic and Social History of New England*; Barry's *Massachusetts*; Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*; Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*; lives of John Adams by C. F. Adams and Morse; Wells's *Samuel Adams*; Tudor's *Otis*; Quincy's *Josiah Quincy*; Morse's *Franklin*; lives of Patrick Henry by W. W. Henry and M. C. Tyler, of Jefferson by Randall and Morse, and of Washington by Marshall, Irving, Sparks, and Lodge.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—See under Chapter IX., *post*.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLUTION

1775-1781

190. Rise of the Republic.—The history of the United States, as a separate country, begins with the fight at Lexington, though the name of the United Colonies was kept up until July 4, 1776 (§ 205). During this period of more than a year, the colonists still claimed to be loyal subjects of the king, fighting only against the attempts of Parliament to govern them by its own will. But, as the king refused to govern the colonies with the aid of their Congress, the Congress did all the governing itself, and the colonies became at once, in reality, a separate country.

191. The Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. The business of the First Congress (in 1774) had been only to pass resolutions: the Second Congress had to make laws. Men like to feel that they are acting under some lawful authority, and all such authority in the colonies had almost disappeared. Most of the royal governors had withdrawn as soon as open fighting began, and no new governments had been formed. Congress became, by common consent, the general governing body of the country. It adopted the forces around Boston as a continental army, appointed Washington to command it, and raised money to support the war. Toward the end of the year, it began to form

a navy (§ 240). At first, therefore, the war was between the British Parliament and the American Congress, both acknowledging the same king. When it was found that the king sided altogether with the Parliament, Congress



CARPENTER'S HALL, WHERE THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS MET.

made war on the king also, and, in 1776, declared the colonies independent of him as well as of Parliament (§ 205).

192. Membership of the Congress.—The Second Continental Congress was a body of distinguished and able men. Each colony had chosen some of its strongest men as delegates. Among the delegates from Massachusetts were John Adams, one of the best qualified men in the country for public service, and afterward President of the United States; Samuel Adams, a trusted popular leader and an earnest advocate of independence; and John Hancock, a Boston merchant, whose bold signature heads the list of signers of the Declaration of Independence. Con-

necticut was represented by Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth. New York sent John Jay, afterward chief justice of the Supreme Court. Pennsylvania sent Robert Morris, whose skilful management later earned him the title of the "financier of the Revolution," and Benjamin Franklin. From Virginia came Patrick Henry, already known as an orator and enthusiastic opponent of Great Britain; Thomas Jefferson, who was later to write the Declaration of Independence; and George Washington.

193.* Leading Men.—The leading men in the Congress were Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson. Franklin was born in Boston, but went to Philadelphia early in life, and soon built up a successful business as a printer. He was self-taught, but became widely known through his writings and scientific investigations. His "Poor Richard's Almanac," published annually, and filled with proverbs embodying sound practical advice in pithy phrases, made his name a household word in America. He was now a man of independent means, had been long in public life, and had represented the colonies in England at the time of the Stamp Act; and his experience and judgment made him invaluable to the American cause. He was, moreover, a consummate diplomatist, and much of the success of the Revolution was due to the skill with which Franklin represented the country abroad. Washington was not yet so widely known as Franklin. He was now somewhat over forty years of age, and was soon to show, on a larger scale, the military ability which he had first exhibited in the resistance to the French twenty years before. Washington was not a ready speaker, but he knew how to choose the best men for important positions, to bear patiently with their imperfections, and to follow the wisest course in the midst of conflicting and hostile advice. Above all, he was absolutely unselfish, refused

all suggestions of merely personal gain, and cared only for the good of his country. Jefferson was a poor speaker, but an effective writer, and his influence increased rapidly as time went on. Men liked to have him write out what



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

they had decided upon, but they had not yet come to set so much store by his judgment on public questions. Jefferson was an advocate of what were then regarded as extreme democratic opinions, under which the goodness

of laws was tested largely by the liberty they left to the individual; but he was not to have an opportunity to apply those ideas on a large scale until he became President, in 1801.

(1) *At Boston.*

194. British Reinforcements, under three generals, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, arrived at Boston soon after the fight at Lexington. Gage had now about 10,000 men. These held the town of Boston, which lay on a peninsula occupying the middle of the harbor. Around them, on the hills of the mainland, there were about twice their number of undisciplined and poorly armed Americans, without cannon and almost without food. Just north of Boston, another peninsula ran out into the harbor. On it there were several hills overlooking the city, and the Americans determined to seize and fortify one of them, called Bunker Hill. About a thousand men, under Colonel Prescott, were sent into the peninsula for this on a suitable night. For some reason, they passed beyond Bunker Hill and seized Breed's Hill, much closer to Boston.¹



THE REVOLUTION IN NEW
ENGLAND.

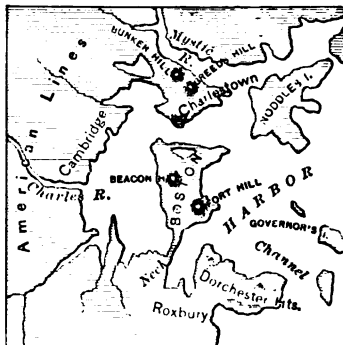
195. The American Fortification was continued silently and swiftly through the night. In the morning of June 17, 1775, the British in Boston woke to see a long line of intrenchments running across the hill above them, and an American working-party busily strengthening it. For a

¹ Breed's Hill is now usually called Bunker Hill, and the Bunker Hill monument is erected upon it.

time, the British frigates in the harbor kept up a slow and distant fire, to which the working-party paid no attention; but at noon the work was stopped, for the British troops were coming across the harbor in boats. Three thousand well armed, uniformed, and drilled soldiers, who had never known defeat in equal fight, landed near Charlestown, under General Howe. Here they formed at the waterside, and in a long, steady line began to move upward to scatter the 1,500 farmers who were watching them from the top of the hill. From the roofs of the houses in Boston the townspeople were watching, while the rest of the British army were anxious to see "whether the Yankees would fight." Most of the watchers expected to see the untrained soldiers in the fort fire a few hasty shots at a safe distance, and run.

196. Battle of Bunker Hill.—The fort held a threatening silence until the attacking column was within 150 feet.

Then, at the word, came a sheet of fire from the marksmen within; and, when the smoke lifted, part of the British line was lying dead or wounded, and the rest were retreating down the hill. The British were not cowards: the officers reformed the line at the bottom of the hill, and, after setting fire to Charlestown, again advanced to the attack. Again there was a steady



SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3
BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

silence in the fort, a close and deadly fire, and the British line was driven down the hill again. The British then moved up the hill for the third time. The powder in the

fort was now gone, and the garrison fought for a few minutes with gunstocks and stones against the British bayonets. But such a struggle was hopeless, and the British gained the fort. They were too tired to pursue the garrison, who escaped to the mainland.¹

197. Washington, early in July, took command of the Americans who had gathered around Boston, and began the difficult task of forming them into a real army. Supplies of powder, arms, and other materials of war grew more abundant, as the American privateers (§ 240) captured supply-ships from England. But the men were not willing to remain in camp for a long time, and had been so accustomed to independence



UNION FLAG.

that they disliked strict military discipline. This difficulty lasted throughout the war, and sometimes drove Washington almost to despair. In the spring of 1776, however, he had formed something like an army. The color of its uniform, when it could afford one, was blue and yellow (or buff), and these were the "rebel" colors throughout the Revolution. Usually, however, the soldiers wore hunting-shirts, dyed brown, as the best available substitute. The flag was unfurled for the first time on New-Year's Day, 1776, at Cambridge. It had the stripes as at present, and the double cross of the British flag instead of the stars. The stars were added in 1777.²

¹ The American loss was 449, out of 1,500 men in the battle. Among the killed was General Joseph Warren, a Boston physician, one of the leading Whigs of Massachusetts. The British loss was 1,054, one third of their number. This tremendous loss had its effect all through the war, for the British regulars would no longer fight except in the open field. On several occasions, American armies were relieved from dangerous positions because the British did not like to attack intrenchments.

² At first there had been flags of all kinds, the commonest having a rattle snake upon it, with the motto, "Don't tread on me." (See p. 127.)

198. British Evacuation of Boston.—Washington's new army was now ready to renew the attempt which had been made at Bunker Hill. This time a peninsula on the south side of Boston, called Dorchester Heights, was selected. It was silently seized by night, and before Howe, who had succeeded Gage, could attack it, the fortifications had been made very strong. The Brit-



RATTLESNAKE FLAG.

ish commander therefore decided not to attack them, but to leave Boston. He embarked his men on the fleet, March 17, and set sail for Halifax. The American army then entered the town. From this time the British made hardly any serious effort to conquer New England; and for a few months, until they attacked the Middle States, there were no longer any British forces within the United States (§ 207).

(2) *Operations in Canada.*

199. Canada, it was hoped, would join the other colonies, and the first thought of the colonists was to drive the British troops out of that province. The easiest road into Canada was through northeastern New York, by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George. On this road the British held the strong fort of Ticonderoga; but this was taken by surprise, three weeks after the fight at Lexington, by Ethan Allen and a small party of men from Vermont. The captured stores were sent to the army before Boston, where they were very welcome.

200. The Invasion of Canada was now begun. During the summer of 1775, American troops, led by Schuyler



PHILIP SCHUYLER.

and Montgomery, two New York officers, pushed into Canada. They captured Montreal in November. Here they were joined by fresh troops, under Benedict Arnold, who had forced their way through the Maine wilderness, up the Kennebec River, and across into Canada. The whole force now numbered about 1,000 men, and these found Quebec

too strong for them (§ 150). In an attack upon it, Montgomery was killed, and his troops were beaten back.¹ Arnold held the army before Quebec until the spring of 1776, when the Americans were finally driven out of Canada, back to Ticonderoga. Canada remained a British province.

(3) *In England and on the Coast.*

201. The People in England had offered expressions of sympathy for the colonies. A number of officers in the army had resigned their commissions rather than serve in America. Petitions against the war had been presented to the king and Parliament from many towns. The city of London had declared its abhorrence of the measures

¹ Montgomery had been a distinguished British officer, but had married and settled in New York. His bones were brought to New York City in 1818, and again buried with appropriate ceremonies.

designed to oppress "our fellow subjects in the colonies," and had begged the king to change his government. But none of these representations had any influence upon those who had power in Great Britain; and, as the war went on, English expressions of sympathy for the colonies became for a time less frequent.

202. Parliament proposed, early in 1775, that, if any colony would promise to lay taxes sufficient to support a royal government, no Parliamentary taxes should be imposed on that colony. Edmund Burke, in an elaborate and eloquent speech, pleaded the cause of the colonies, and urged a return to the old plan of relying upon the good will of the assemblies. But the proposition of Parliament, suggested by Lord North, was rejected, and Parliament was soon as angry as the king. It voted to send 25,000 men to America; to hire and send over 17,000 soldiers from Hesse-Cassel, in Germany;¹ to forbid all trade with the colonies; and to declare American ships lawful prize, that is, to permit them to be captured by English or foreign ships. Congress answered by opening American harbors to ships of all nations, and declaring British ships lawful prize. All this time, Congress was declaring that it had no desire for independence; and the different colonies were directing their delegates not to vote for a separation. This state of things could not last long. The king's loyal subjects could not go on shooting the king's soldiers without soon learning to detest the king himself.

203. Along the Coast, where the British frigates commanded the ocean, the exposed towns were harshly treated. Any refusal by the people to supply the ships

¹ These hired soldiers, called Hessians, who could speak no English, were particularly hated by the colonists, and were accused of numberless cruelties during the war.

with provisions was likely to be answered by a cannonade. In 1775, the towns of Gloucester, Bristol, and Falmouth (now Portland) were bombarded and destroyed; and early in 1776, Norfolk met the same fate. Charleston was attacked, June 28, by a squadron of ten British ships, with 2,500 troops on board, under General Clinton. They were beaten off by the South Carolina troops under Moultrie, one of the ships being burned.¹ The fleet then sailed for New York, and the Southern States for nearly three years felt little of the war

(4) *Independence.*

204. The Desire for Independence began to grow rapidly in the spring of 1776. The king was wholly on the side of the enemies of the colonists, had declared the colonists to be rebels, and had allowed his ships to burn their towns. The colonists were therefore beginning to forget that they were his loyal subjects. Just at this time, a pamphlet called *Common Sense* was published, written by Thomas Paine: it urged these considerations with great force and effect. The first strong sign of the change of feeling was a recommendation by Congress, in May, 1776, that the different colonies should form governments of their own, in place of those which had been overthrown. This was done, and the colonies now took the name of States.

205. Independence.—Virginia led the way in instructing her delegates in Congress to vote for independence, and the other States gradually followed. June 8, a resolution that the colonies were free and independent States was offered in Congress; and a committee of five was ap-

¹ The name of Fort Sullivan was changed to Fort Moultrie in honor of the commander. One of the heroes of the defence was Sergeant Jasper, who climbed the parapet during the hottest of the fire, and restored the flagstaff, which had been shot away.

pointed to draw up a fitting declaration. The committee finished its work June 28. July 2, the resolution was adopted; and the Declaration of Independence was adopted July 4, 1776. The United Colonies were now the United States, claiming to be independent of both king and Parliament.

206. The Declaration of Independence is in Appendix I. It was drawn up by Jefferson. The other members of the committee, John Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, did little of the work; but Adams did most of the speaking in its favor, as Jefferson was not a good public speaker. Parliament is not mentioned in the Declaration, except as a body of men whom the king had aided in "acts of pretended legislation" over the colonies. The new idea in the Declaration is that governments are to be made and changed by the people; elsewhere, up to that time, it was held that the people were bound to obey the government, as long as it protected them. The success of the American Revolution aided to bring about the French Revolution in 1789 and the following years. The same idea now controls every government whose people care to assert it.



LIBERTY BELL.

(5) *In the Middle States : 1776-78.*

207. The Middle States were now, for nearly three years, to be the theatre of the war. For the time, Great

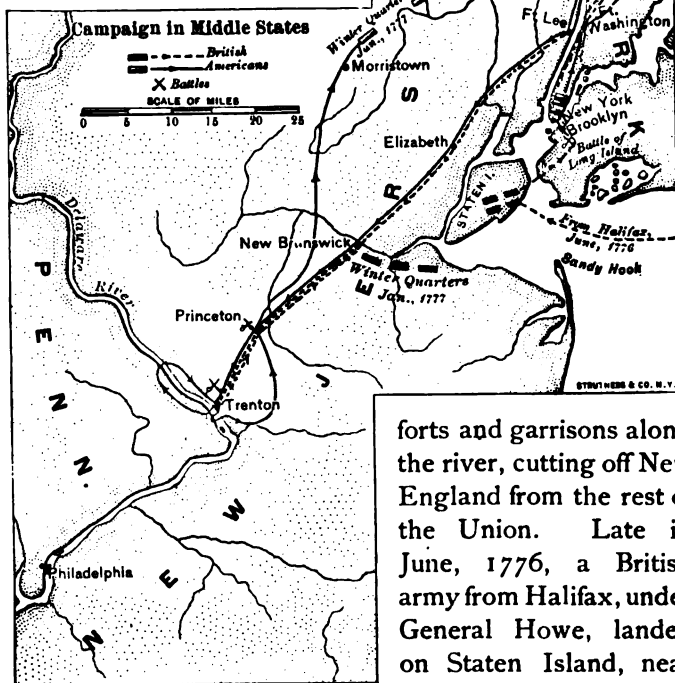
Britain had given up New England, because of its stormy coast in winter, and the stubborn temper of its people. The Southern States were not yet rich enough to be a great prize. The Middle States seemed to be a better



INDEPENDENCE HALL IN 1776.

point of attack. Their people were of mixed races, not all of one blood as in New England. Many of them were tenants and cared little about taxes, while the owners of great tracts of land, like most rich and comfortably settled people, disliked sudden changes, and were apt to sympa-

thize with the government. Most of the Tories were in the Middle States, and the British could expect assistance from them. Above all, the British hoped, by means of their fleet, to control the harbor of New York and the Hudson River, thus opening up the road to Canada (§ 199), and at the same time, by



forts and garrisons along the river, cutting off New England from the rest of the Union. Late in June, 1776, a British army from Halifax, under General Howe, landed on Staten Island, near New York City; and the

serious part of the war began. The fighting in New

England at the beginning of the Revolution, and in the South at the end of it, is interesting; but the decisive struggle was in the Middle States from 1776 until 1778.

208. Washington had hurried to New York with his troops immediately after the evacuation of Boston (§ 198), and had begun to erect fortifications. He had succeeded in getting together about 20,000 men. But they were poorly armed, equipped, and drilled, and were to be beaten again and again by the British before they could be trained to win victories in their turn. The great distinction of Washington, in the war, is the skill with which he avoided a battle with the whole British force, and the patient courage with which he submitted to being beaten until his army was formed and trained.

209. Battle of Long Island.—During the next two months of 1776, Howe's force was increased to about 30,000 well-trained soldiers. With half of these he crossed to Long Island, where about 5,000 Americans were posted near Brooklyn, then only a ferry station. Howe nearly surrounded them, and completely defeated them in the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776). Only 3,000 of the Americans escaped to Brooklyn, where a fort had been built. For two days the British hesitated about attacking the fort, and then a heavy fog enabled Washington to bring the garrison over to New York. Howe followed slowly to New York. Washington retreated before him, skirmishing at Harlem and White Plains, thus reaching the hills east of the present town of Peekskill, where he halted and faced about. Again Howe refused to attack him, but moved back to enter New Jersey. On his way he captured Fort Washington, now in the upper part of New York City, where Washington had left 3,000 men.¹

¹ It was during this retreat that the British captured and hanged a young

210. Washington's Retreat.—Washington left General Charles Lee to hold the position near Peekskill, and with 5,000 men crossed the Hudson River, and moved down to a point nearly opposite New York City. Early in December, the British, under Lord Cornwallis, crossed the Hudson River. Washington retreated before them through New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, across New Jersey, and finally put the Delaware River between him and his pursuers. The cold weather, the hasty retreat, and other discouragements decreased his forces so much that he had but 3,000 men; and the British were confident that they would "catch him and end the war" as soon as the Delaware River should freeze over so that they could cross.¹

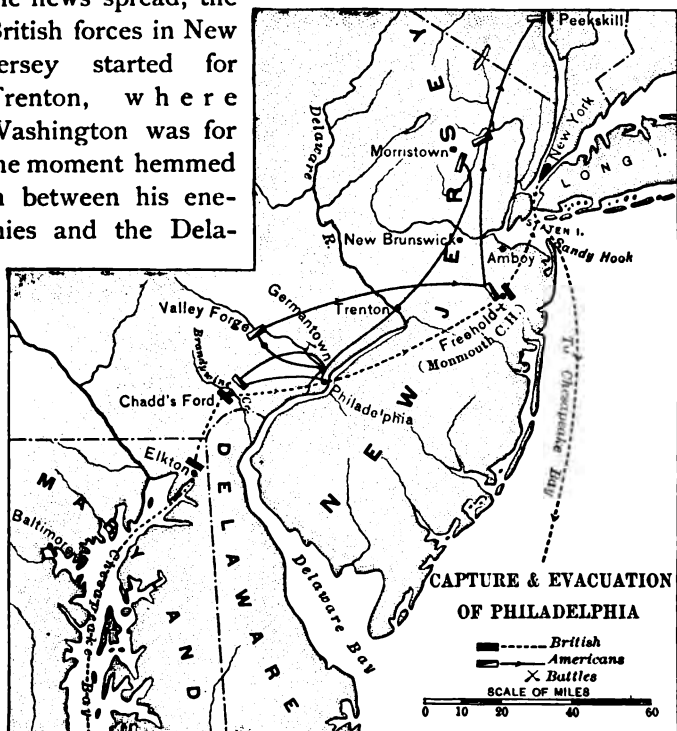
211. Congress abandoned Philadelphia and went to Baltimore. Before leaving, it gave Washington almost supreme power, authorizing him to seize property and arrest persons as he should judge best. There was terror everywhere through the Middle States, and many persons hastened to put themselves under British protection and become again loyal subjects of the king. But Washington had not lost courage, and he revived the courage of others by an unexpected blow.

212. Trenton and Princeton.—On Christmas night of 1776, Washington recrossed the Delaware River into New Jersey with 2,500 picked men, and before daylight, December 26, he had surrounded Trenton. The garrison, 1,000 Hessian soldiers, was surprised and captured with the loss of but four Americans. Washington took his

American officer, Captain Nathan Hale. He was a spy, like André (§ 238), but was not treated as was André. He was not given time to write a letter, or prepare for death, and was shown no sympathy.

¹ Washington summoned Lee from Peekskill to his help, but Lee was treacherous, moved slowly, and allowed himself to be captured in New Jersey.

prisoners to Philadelphia and returned to Trenton. As the news spread, the British forces in New Jersey started for Trenton, where Washington was for the moment hemmed in between his enemies and the Dela-



ware River. Another quick movement saved him. During the night he broke camp, marched around the British forces to Princeton in their rear, and there, January 3, 1777, defeated and scattered three British regiments. Cornwallis instantly turned and pursued him. But Washington was soon safe in the mountains of northern New Jersey, at Morristown, where the British did not venture to attack him.

213. Winter Quarters.—The American army passed the winter of 1776-7 in a long line stretching from the

Hudson River to the Delaware, as the mountains run. The British line at first faced that of Washington in a corresponding line through the flat country below; but the country people were so hostile that the whole British force gradually drew in around New Brunswick and near Sandy Hook. The winter thus passed without much advantage to either side, except that the British had failed to capture Philadelphia.

214. During the Winter, plundering expeditions were sent out by the British from New York to the towns in



MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

the neighborhood. In December, 1776, Newport, Rhode Island, was captured by the British, and was held for

three years. In April, 1777, an expedition landed at Norwalk, Connecticut, marched inland, and burned the supplies at Danbury. A number of officers from the continent of Europe crossed the ocean during the year to enter the American army. The most important of these was the Marquis de La Fayette, a youth of nineteen, who had secretly fitted out a ship and sailed for America against the orders of the French Government. Others were the Baron de Kalb, an experienced German officer; Kosciusko and Pulaski, two Polish patriots; and Conway, a troublesome Irish officer (§ 223). In 1778 came the Baron von Steuben, a veteran German officer, who first instructed the American troops in the tactics used in Europe.

215. Howe tried in vain to draw the Americans out of their stronghold in northern New Jersey. He did not venture to attack Philadelphia by marching his army across New Jersey in front of the Americans, lest they should strike his army in flank on the march. In July, 1777, he embarked 18,000 men on transports at Staten Island, and put out to sea, leaving a sufficient garrison to hold New York City. No one knew where he was going, and Washington was compelled to wait in New Jersey until he heard that the British vessels had been seen in Chesapeake Bay. He then hurried his army to Philadelphia to defend that city. Howe sailed up Chesapeake Bay, and landed near Elkton. He avoided the Delaware River, because the Americans had filled it with obstructions.

216. Brandywine and Germantown.—Between Elkton and Philadelphia, the Brandywine River crosses the road. Here, at Chad's Ford, Washington met Howe, and was defeated with a loss of 1,200 men. But the American army did better fighting than it had yet done; and, though

Howe captured Philadelphia, Washington did not hesitate to attack him again at Germantown (now a part of Philadelphia). The Americans were again repulsed after hard fighting.

217. Winter Quarters.—The British troops in Philadelphia enjoyed every comfort which a large city could give them. The Americans went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, a little place on the Schuylkill River, just above Norristown. Here they passed a dreadful winter, half starved, poorly clothed, and many of them without shoes to protect their feet against the snow and ice. In spite of the horrors of the winter, Washington held his army at Valley Forge, because it was the best possible position from which to attack the enemy if they should move out of Philadelphia in any direction. In October, 1777, after a long siege and hard fighting, the British drove the Americans out of Forts Mercer and Mifflin, opposite each other, on the banks of the Delaware, just below Philadelphia. Congress thereupon fled to Lancaster and then to York, again leaving Washington in almost supreme command. But things were not quite so dark as during the previous winter; for, while Washington had been fighting around Philadelphia, a whole British army had been captured at Saratoga in northeastern New York (§ 222).

(6) *Burgoyne's Expedition, 1777.*

218. The Hudson River was of great importance as a waterway (with Lake Champlain) to Canada, and as a dividing line between New England and the other States (§ 207). The British had found Washington's position on the Hudson, near Peekskill, so strong that they could not capture it from the south: they were now to try it from

the north. During the summer of 1777, while Howe was getting ready to sail for Philadelphia, Gen. John Burgoyne was moving from Canada to Lake Champlain with an army of about 10,000 men. Of these, 7,000 were



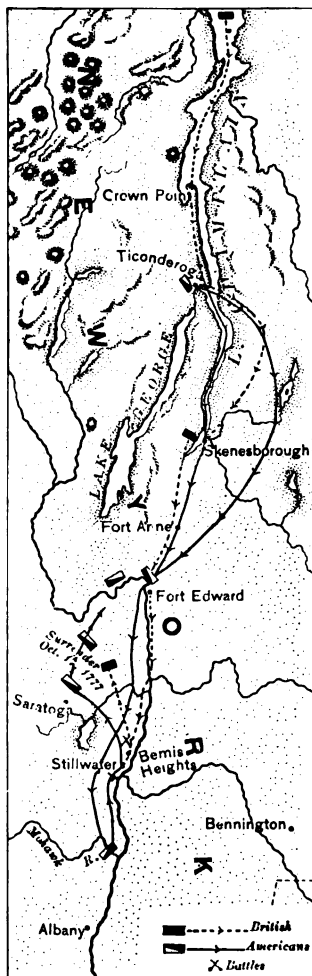
GEN. JOHN BURGoyNE.

regular troops which he had brought from England, and the rest Canadians and Indians. In July, he reached Ticonderoga, which he captured without difficulty.

219. Schuyler, the American general (§ 200), had but 4,000 men, and could only retreat through Skenesborough,

toward Albany. But he did so slowly, destroying the bridges behind him, felling trees across the roads, and delaying the passage of the British as much as possible. Finally, he took up a position on some islands at the mouth of the Mohawk River, where it empties into the Hudson. Here both armies halted for a time. Schuyler was waiting for reinforcements. Burgoyne thought Schuyler's position too strong to be attacked, and was also searching for provisions, of which he was now in need.

220. Fort Schuyler and Bennington. — Burgoyne had sent a detachment to the west, to capture Fort Schuyler (now the city of Rome). The detachment routed a militia force at Oriskany; but the garrison of Fort Schuyler held out stoutly until Arnold, with an American detachment, arrived and drove the British back to Canada in great confusion. To the eastward was Vermont, whose people claimed to be a State separate from New Hampshire, though Congress as yet refused to



SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30

BURGOYNE'S EXPEDITION.

recognize them (§ 65). Partly in the hope of bringing the Vermonters to the British side, Burgoyne sent 800 men to Bennington, under Colonel Baum. They were met by Colonel John Stark and 400 militia, who entirely defeated them. Burgoyne had sent reinforcements, under Colonel Breyman, to support Baum; but, before they could reach the battle-field, the Americans also received reinforcements, under Colonel Seth Warner, and the second detachment was defeated as completely as the first had been.¹

221. Burgoyne's Position was by this time very dangerous. His Indian allies were leaving him; many of his best men had been killed or captured, and he was getting short of provisions. The army opposed to him was increasing: Congress was hurrying men up the Hudson; and the country militia were coming in rapidly. Burgoyne, therefore, desperately attempted to force his way through the American army. He crossed the Hudson, and moved slowly down its west bank toward the Mohawk. About the same time, Gates, who had been sent by Congress to take Schuyler's place, felt strong enough to move up the west bank of the Hudson, away from the Mohawk.

222. Bemis Heights.—The two armies met at Bemis Heights, between Saratoga Lake and the Hudson. The battle which followed was not decisive: the British held the ground; but the Americans had shown that Burgoyne could not break through. He was soon forced to make a last desperate attempt to do so; but was defeated again in the battle of Stillwater and gave up hope of escaping

¹ The British loss was about 800 in both battles; that of the Americans, 54. Stark's speech to his men, before the battle, is said to have been, "There they are, boys; we must beat them to-day, or this night Molly Stark's a widow."

southward. He now tried to retreat to Canada; but the triumphant Americans pressed on and surrounded his camp. At Saratoga, the pivotal point of the war (§ 226), he surrendered his remaining army of 6,000 men.



HORATIO GATES.

Clinton, in the mean time, was endeavoring to come to Burgoyne's relief with troops from New York City. He captured some of the forts on the Hudson, but fell back on learning of Burgoyne's surrender.

223. The Conway Cabal.—Most of the glory of these victories was due to the careful preparations of Schuyler, and the personal daring of Arnold; but Gates took all the glory to himself. During the winter, an effort was made

by him and a number of leading men in Congress and in the army to make him commander-in-chief, instead of Washington. It failed on account of the general indignation when it became known. It is generally known as the "Conway cabal," from the name of one of its leaders (§ 214); but there were many others engaged in it, whose share has been more carefully covered over. Almost all the meannesses of the Revolution centred in this "time that tried men's souls." Some public men were afraid that the war would be a failure, and were anxious to make their peace with the British; others were jealous of one another or of the army; others were anxious only to make money. Their selfishness and cupidity made the task of Washington and the great men of the Revolution far more difficult, and the final success far more brilliant, than if all had been patriots.

(7) *Aid from France.*

224. France had been waiting since 1763 for the time when Great Britain should be deprived of her territory in North America by the growing strength of her colonies. The French Government was therefore not at all sorry to see the English colonies rebel, and supplied them with arms and clothing from the beginning. But, in order to avoid war with Great Britain, the supplies were sent secretly, and the American agents were not publicly recognized.¹ Openly, the French Government was on the side of Great Britain, and declared that, as it still had colonies outside of North America, it would not encourage them to rebel by helping the United States.

225. The Appointment of Franklin as minister to France was a most fortunate selection. He was one of the

¹ The first American agent in France was Silas Deane, appointed in 1776. Franklin, Deane, and Arthur Lee were made agents later in 1776. In 1778, Benjamin Franklin was made sole minister to France.

shrewdest and most active diplomatists that ever served any country; and yet he took care to seem only a plain and simple colonist. His plain dress, his modest manners, and his homely wit captivated the French, and he became the favorite of Paris. He brought French public opinion over to the side of the colonies; but for a long time he could get no recognition from the government. When other French officers followed La Fayette to America, to enter the army of the United States, the French Government took care that the British ministers should know how angry it was, but it never succeeded in arresting the officers.

226. The French Treaty.—The Declaration of Independence had convinced the French Government that the Americans intended to separate from Great Britain forever; but it required some further evidence that, if France should help, France would not have to do all the fighting. This doubt was removed by Burgoyne's surrender, and Franklin was made happy by a treaty of alliance between France and the United States, early in 1778. France was to send to the assistance of the United States a fleet of 16 war-vessels, under D'Estaing, and an army of 4,000 men.

227. Great Britain at once declared war against France.¹ She offered the United States all that the colonies had asked three years before—freedom from taxation, and representation in Parliament. But the offer came too late. Independence had become the settled purpose of the Americans, and the war was to last nearly five years longer before Great Britain would consent to this.

228. The Battle of Monmouth.—We left Howe in Philadelphia, and Washington at Valley Forge, near Norris-

¹ The ruling families of France and Spain were related, and Spain joined France in the war against Great Britain in 1779. Holland joined them in 1780, for commercial reasons.

town. Clinton succeeded Howe during the winter. When the news of the French alliance reached Clinton, he left Philadelphia and started across New Jersey, in order to unite all the British forces³ at New York City before the French fleet and army should arrive. Washington hurried after him, intending to keep him busy in New Jersey until the French should come. The van of the American army overtook the British rear at Monmouth Court-house (Freehold), in June, 1778, and the battle lasted until nightfall without any decided result. The British drew off during the night, and embarked at Sandy Hook for New York City.¹

229. Washington moved farther toward the north, crossed the Hudson above New York City, and took his former position near Peekskill. From this point he could operate with effect if Clinton should make any movement toward New England, toward Canada, or toward Philadelphia. These positions in the Middle States were maintained for the rest of the war, the British occupying New York City, Staten Island, and a part of Long Island, and Washington's line running from Peekskill to Morristown. The British had failed in the Middle States as they had done in New England, and were now about to attack the Southern States.

(8) *In the North after 1778.*

230. The French Fleet and Army arrived in July, 1778, soon after the British retreat from Philadelphia. The

¹ General Charles Lee, who was afterwards discovered to have been a traitor, was disgraced at Monmouth. Instead of attacking, as he was ordered to do, he allowed his men to retreat. Washington spoke to him hastily and passionately as he sent the men back into the fight, and Lee afterward wrote Washington several very disrespectful letters. For this and other acts of the kind he was dismissed from the service. At the beginning of the war, he had been considered one of the best of the American generals.

larger vessels were unable to enter New York harbor, so that no attack was made on the city. The French therefore sailed for Newport, which was still in the hands of the British (§ 214). An American army, under Greene, Sullivan, and La Fayette, was sent to assist in the attack. But a storm blew the French fleet off the coast, and the attack was given up. The whole French force then sailed to the West Indies, where France had possessions to defend.¹

231. The British now held but two cities in the United States, Newport and New York, with Staten Island and part of Long Island. These were all the results of their three years' war against the colonies alone. Now they were struggling on every sea with their old enemy, France, and had still less attention to spare for America. As their chances of success grew less, their manner of fighting grew more savage. Plundering expeditions along the coast of New England and New Jersey burned the houses and alarmed the country, but made no attempt to hold any place.

232. The Horrors of War.—Instances of the new manner of warfare were numerous. Wyoming, a Connecticut settlement in northern Pennsylvania, was captured in July, 1778, by a force of British and Indians from western New York, commanded by a Tory, Colonel John Butler, and Brant, an Indian chief. The inhabitants were cruelly treated, and most of the men were killed. In November, the village of Cherry Valley, in New York, met a like fate. But the Indians were now to learn for the first time

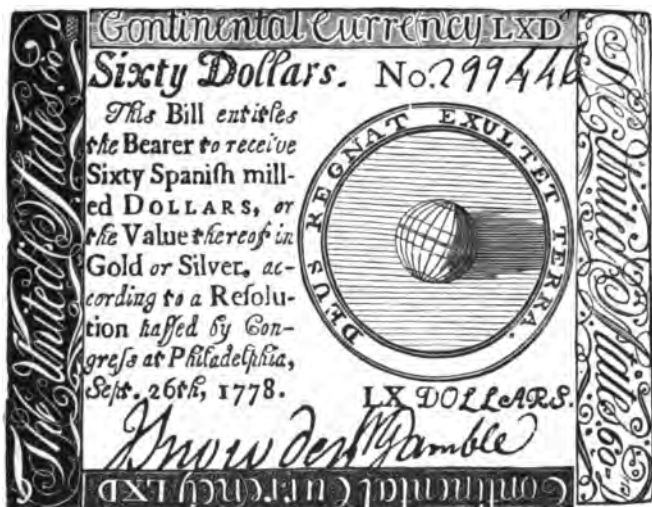
¹ The French forces were never of any great assistance to the United States until the Yorktown campaign (§ 260). Whenever they were most needed, they were likely to be called off to the West Indies, to defend the French colonies there. But France helped the United States most liberally with money and supplies.

that a new power had risen, and that it could strike, and strike hard. In the following year, 1779, Congress sent an army, under General Sullivan, into western New York, to punish the Indians. Sullivan killed, burned, and destroyed until he had left the Indian country a desert. The British treatment of prisoners at New York was particularly cruel. The prisoners were placed in worn-out war-vessels in the East River, near the Brooklyn shore, and were so scantily supplied with food, water, clothing, and medicine that they died in great numbers. The most notorious of these "hulks," or prison-ships, was the *Jersey*.

233. Paper Money was one of the severest discouragements under which the Americans labored. It had been issued by Congress to pay the expenses of the war, and had increased largely in amount. When a country has more paper money than it can use for business purposes, two or more dollars are made to do the work of one, and each "dollar" consequently decreases in value. The loss, of course, falls most severely on the poor. By 1778, Congress had issued so much paper money that eight paper dollars would buy only as much as one gold dollar. This made the difficulty worse, for Congress now had to issue eight times as much paper money as at first, and its value fell faster than ever. The British in New York counterfeited it skilfully, and passed off their counterfeits on the farmers. Before the war ended, the "continental money" was worthless: no one would take it, and a worthless thing was said to be "not worth a continental," meaning a continental dollar.

234. Congress itself was not so much respected as at first, and the States did not submit to its authority as willingly as when they were all in terror of the British. No regular government for the whole people had yet been

formed, and Congress could only go on begging the States for soldiers, issuing paper money, and running into debt in France and Holland, without the power to lay taxes



CONTINENTAL MONEY.

(§ 239) or redeem the debt. The pay of the army was small, and toward the end of the war the men were not paid at all;¹ so that it was difficult to obtain recruits, except when a British force entered a State and frightened men into the army. The people generally were beginning to rely on France, and even to think the war really over. Most of the burden of these difficulties fell on Washington, and taxed his patience to the utmost.

235. The West.—Settlements had already been begun, in 1768–69, in Kentucky and Tennessee (§ 157, note), but they were not large, and were just beginning to feel

¹ After the war, the soldiers were partly paid by giving them western lands. Those who lived until the people and government grew richer were supported in their old age by pensions.

secure against the Indians. North of the Ohio, there were only the remnants of the French settlements (§ 139), with a few British officers and soldiers. In 1778 and 1779, George Rogers Clarke crossed the Ohio with a Kentucky force, captured Vincennes, and conquered the territory now in the States of Illinois and Indiana. Virginia claimed it (§ 79), and made it the county of Illinois. But no American settlements were undertaken in it for a number of years.

236. The British Government seems to have become convinced, when France entered the war, that in the end the independence of the United States must be acknowledged. But it wished to save some of its former territory. It had failed in New England and in the Middle States. It now determined to attack the Southern States, since they had fewer white inhabitants than the North, and the negro slaves would not count as soldiers. During the next five years, 1779–83, the fighting was mainly in the South, while the armies elsewhere did little more than watch one another. Three noteworthy events took place in the North, and these we will give at once.

237. Stony Point: 1779.—A rocky hill, called Stony Point, ran out into the Hudson, nearly opposite Peekskill, and the British had taken possession of it and fortified it. Washington sent General Anthony Wayne, an officer of distinguished courage and skill, to recapture it. Just before midnight, July 15, 1779, Wayne silently formed his men in two columns on opposite sides of the foot of the hill, giving them orders not to fire, but to trust to the bayonet. The charge was completely successful; the two columns met in the centre of the fort, and captured it and the garrison without firing a shot.¹ The fort was too near New York

¹ Wayne's daring gave him the popular name of "Mad Anthony"; but he was really as prudent as he was brave (§ 308).

to be held, and the Americans, after destroying the works, retired. The object of the movement was mainly to encourage the men, by showing them that they were now so well trained that they could trust to the bayonet as well as the British.

238. Arnold's Treason:

1780. — In September, 1780, the country was shocked by the discovery that Benedict Arnold, one of its bravest generals, and commander of the important fortress of West Point,



ANTHONY WAYNE.

had planned to betray his post to the British in return for a large sum of money and a brigadier-general's commission in the British army. He had been reprimanded for misusing the public money, and took this road to revenge. The British agent in making the bargain was Major John André, an amiable young officer, Clinton's aide-de-camp. On his return down the Hudson River from an interview with Arnold, he was made prisoner, near Tarrytown, by three militiamen. He was allowed by an American officer to send warning to Arnold, who escaped to the British lines and received his reward, though the plot had failed. André was hanged as a spy, since he had been caught in disguise within the American lines. The fate of André was lamented by the whole American army; but Washington felt that it was necessary as a warning to other British officers not to engage in such affairs. Efforts were made to capture Arnold, in order to hang him also, but they

failed. At the end of the war, he went to England, where he lived and died despised by Englishmen as well as by Americans.

239. Revolt of the Troops: 1781.—In January, 1781, the misery of the unpaid and half-starved American soldiers



JOHN ANDRÉ. (*Drawn by himself.*)

at Morristown became unbearable. The Pennsylvania troops revolted, and set out for Philadelphia to demand pay from Congress, which was in session there. On the march, British agents attempted to bring them over to Clinton's army, but were arrested by the soldiers. A committee of Congress met them at Princeton, and by fair promises induced them to disband peaceably. A few weeks later, the New Jersey troops also revolted, but Washington surrounded their camp and forced them to return to duty. At the end of the war, there were serious fears of a more extensive mutiny among the officers and soldiers at Newburgh, N. Y., because of failure to pay them; but it was stopped by Washington's influence.

(9) *On the Sea.*

240. The American War-Vessels were mainly privateers, that is, vessels owned by private persons, but commissioned by Congress, or by one of the States, to capture British vessels. Late in 1775, Congress ordered fourteen



JOHN PAUL JONES.

vessels to be built as a regular navy (§ 191). Most of these were of small size, but together with the privateers they captured a great number of merchant-vessels and small war-vessels, and seriously injured the commerce of Great Britain. Two vessels, the *Reprisal* and the *Revenge*, cruised around the British Isles in 1777, and almost put a stop to commerce for the time. In 1778,

Captain John Paul Jones, in the *Ranger*, repeated the exploit, and even landed to attack various places on the coast of England and Scotland. The number of vessels captured from the British is not exactly known, but has been estimated at about 700.

241. The American Navy was not successfully formed, owing to the poverty of Congress and the number of British vessels on the coast. A number of vessels were built, but they were captured by heavier British vessels, or burned in the Delaware and Hudson rivers to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The alliance with France, in 1778, gave Franklin an opportunity to purchase vessels which became American cruisers.

242. The Richard and the Serapis.—In 1779, Franklin fitted out a fleet of five vessels, under command of Paul



THE BRITISH ISLES.

Jones. Only one of them, an old and rotten merchant-vessel, was of respectable size, and Jones named it the *Bonhomme Richard*.¹ The crew were disorderly and disobedient, and Jones had the greatest difficulty in controlling them. The captains of the other vessels were fully as troublesome. For a month, however, the fleet kept the eastern coast of Scotland and England in

alarm, and made many prizes. September 23, 1779, it

¹ Jones was a native of Scotland. He afterward entered the Russian navy, but died in poverty and neglect. The name of his ship ("Goodman Richard") was given in compliment to Franklin, who, while a Pennsylvania printer, had for many years published "Poor Richard's Almanac."

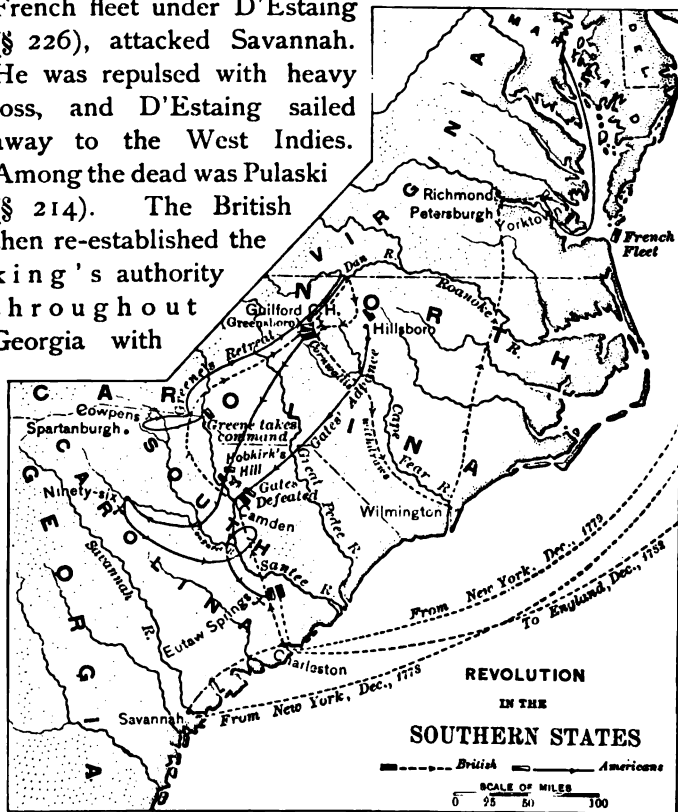
fell in with two British frigates, the *Serapis*, of forty guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty-two guns, off Flamborough Head, and one of the most desperate sea-fights in history followed. The *Richard* and the *Serapis* were of equal force, and Jones succeeded in tying them together. After two hours of frightful slaughter, in which both vessels were on fire several times, the *Serapis* surrendered. The *Richard* was so badly injured that she sank next morning. The *Countess of Scarborough* was captured by the rest of the fleet, and this was the only assistance given to the *Richard*.

243. The French Fleets on the American coast did little except to protect the French islands in the West Indies, until De Grasse, in 1781, gave great assistance in capturing Cornwallis (§ 258). During the last three years of the war there were but two American frigates in active service, and both were of small size. One large vessel, the *America*, of seventy-four guns, was built, but Congress presented it to the king of France. The New England States did not cease to send out privateers. In 1779, a fleet of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, from Boston, attacked Castine, then held by the British. During the attack, a British fleet arrived and captured all the vessels. The men escaped by land.

(10) *In the South: 1778-81.*

244. Savannah was attacked by a British expedition from New York, late in 1778, and was easily captured. British troops from Florida then joined the expedition. Augusta was taken, and the whole State of Georgia soon fell under British control. General Benjamin Lincoln, the American commander, could do little except keep the British out of South Carolina, and prevent the South

Carolina Tories from escaping to Georgia. In September, 1779, he crossed into Georgia, and, with the help of the French fleet under D'Estaing (§ 226), attacked Savannah. He was repulsed with heavy loss, and D'Estaing sailed away to the West Indies. Among the dead was Pulaski (§ 214). The British then re-established the king's authority throughout Georgia with



very little resistance, and Lincoln retired to South Carolina.

245. Minor Movements.—In February, 1779, a body of 700 Tories from North Carolina, while marching to Georgia, were defeated and scattered in South Carolina by the militia under Colonel Pickens. The next month,

a force of 2,000 Americans crossed into Georgia and was defeated at Briar Creek. In April, the British in their turn made a movement toward Charleston, but found Lincoln ready for battle, and withdrew to Georgia. Operations in the South then ceased for the summer of 1779. Elsewhere, the British sent plundering expeditions from New York into Connecticut and Virginia, in order to prevent the sending of American reinforcements to the South. In this way the towns of New Haven and Norwalk, in Connecticut, and Portsmouth and Norfolk, in Virginia, were plundered.

246. Georgia was the first State which the British had completely conquered, and they treated the Whigs (§ 170) with severity. The Tories in the State were allowed to injure their Whig neighbors almost as they pleased. In the neighboring States of South Carolina and North Carolina, the Whigs were quick to inflict similar harshness on their Tory neighbors. Thus the war in the South immediately became more ferocious on both sides than it had ever been in the North. As each army gained new territory, its enemies among the inhabitants were treated as traitors. In consequence, nearly all the people were forced to take part in the war, either against the regular armies or against their neighbors. For the next two years there was no peace, no work, and no good feeling in the South; while the hanging or shooting of men by their neighbors, and even of brother by brother, made the results of the war more horrible than open battle.

247. Charleston.—In October, 1779, Clinton ordered Newport to be evacuated, and collected all his available forces at New York. Then, leaving only enough troops in New York to defend it against Washington, late in December he sailed with the rest to Charleston. Here the British from Georgia met him; the fleet forced its

way through the harbor to the city; and in May, after a vigorous defence, Lincoln was compelled to surrender Charleston, together with his army of 6,000 men. Clinton refused to allow the garrison to surrender unless it would go through a public ceremony of laying down its arms (§ 261). He then sent out expeditions to various parts of the State, under his best cavalry officer, Tarleton, and scattered every American force that made its appearance. Tarleton was for a long time very successful. During the siege of Charleston he surprised a body of Americans at Monk's Corner, thirty miles from Charleston, and routed them. Soon after, he scattered another American force at the Waxhaws, near the North Carolina line.

248. South Carolina was now under British control. Clinton considered his work done, and sailed back to New York with part of his troops, leaving Cornwallis in command of the rest. But the State was never entirely quiet, even when the British seemed to control it. Sumter, Marion, and other South Carolina leaders found places of refuge in the great swamps in different parts of the State; and from these they kept up an active warfare with the British. Their desperate battles, night-marches, surprises, and hair-breadth escapes make this one of the most exciting and interesting periods of the Revolution.

249. Camden.—Congress sent Gates, the victor of Saratoga, to take command of the forces in the South. He passed across North Carolina with nearly three times as many men as the British, and met them at Camden in August, 1780. Most of Gates's men were untrained militia, who at the first fire from the British fled without firing a shot in return. The few Continental troops from Maryland fought obstinately, but finally retreated, losing their commander, De Kalb (§ 214). Gates fled ahead of his army to Hillsboro (near the present city of Raleigh),

and South Carolina was left still more completely at the mercy of the British. Gates had been so unsuccessful that Congress removed him, and sent one of the most cautious and successful of the American generals, Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island, to take his place.

250. King's Mountain.—

After the battle of Camden, Cornwallis sent Colonel Ferguson, with 1,100 men, to arouse the Tories in North Carolina. He was not successful, and soon found it advisable to fortify himself on King's Mountain, between the Broad and Catawba rivers. Here, in October, 1780, he was attacked and utterly defeated by a force of about a thousand riflemen



NATHANIEL GREENE.

hastily gathered from western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. About the same time, Tarleton surprised Sumter at Fishing Creek, and scattered his men for a time.

251. The Cowpens.—Greene sent Morgan, a Virginia officer, into South Carolina with a thousand riflemen to gather recruits. Tarleton was sent after him with about an equal force, and attacked him in January, 1781, at the Cowpens, a pasture-field near Spartanburgh. For the first time, Tarleton was completely beaten, losing nearly all his men. Cornwallis immediately moved with all his force after Morgan, who had begun to retreat with

his prisoners. Morgan and Greene together were too weak to meet Cornwallis, and they managed a skilful and fortunate retreat across North Carolina into Virginia. As they crossed the Catawba, the Yadkin, and the Dan rivers, Cornwallis was just behind them; but in each case a sudden rise of the river prevented him from crossing in time to overtake them. At the Dan, Cornwallis gave up the chase, and turned back to Hillsboro.

252. Arnold in Virginia.—Benedict Arnold (§ 238) was now a general in the British service. In January, 1781, he was sent from New York, with 1,600 men, to ravage Virginia and prevent reinforcements from being sent to Greene. The Americans were naturally very anxious to capture him. La Fayette was sent by Washington to oppose him by land, while a few French vessels were to cut off his retreat by sea. A British fleet drove the French vessels back to Newport. Reinforcements under General Phillips were sent to Arnold, who plundered Virginia without mercy, while La Fayette could do little more than watch him.

253. Guilford Court-house.—Greene soon obtained recruits enough to enable him to turn back into North Carolina, and the two armies met at Guilford Court-house (now Greensboro), in March, 1781. Lack of ammunition compelled the North Carolina militia to withdraw, but the rest of Greene's army held its ground stubbornly, and at last retreated in excellent order. The British loss was so heavy that Cornwallis did not venture to pursue, but retired to Wilmington to obtain supplies from his ships. There were no further battles between these two armies, for during the next two months they passed one another, Greene moving south into South Carolina, and Cornwallis moving north into Virginia.

254. South Carolina.—As soon as Cornwallis retired to

Wilmington, Greene moved across North Carolina into South Carolina, where the British were under command of Lord Rawdon. Battles followed, in April and May, 1781, the principal one being fought at Hobkirk's Hill (near Camden). Greene was again forced to retreat, but inflicted heavy loss upon his enemy. He spent the summer at the hills of the Santee, near Camden. In September he again moved down toward the coast, and fought the last battle of the war in this State, at Eutaw Springs, near Charleston. Again the British had the advantage, but their loss was so heavy that they retreated during the night, and took refuge in Charleston. Greene had finished his work. By sheer caution, activity, and perseverance, and without winning a single victory, he had almost cleared the South of the enemy. He now held every part of South Carolina and Georgia, excepting Charleston and Savannah, to which cities he kept the British closely confined for the rest of the war.

255. Virginia.—Cornwallis at Wilmington knew nothing of Greene's movement until it was too late to intercept him. Then, thinking that Rawdon was strong enough to defeat Greene, he decided to move north into Virginia, join the British troops already there, and endeavor to conquer that State. He met no great opposition on his march, and Tarleton's cavalry plundered the country at will. On reaching Virginia, Cornwallis found that he had about 8,000 men, twice as many as the force under La Fayette which was opposed to him. Orders were sent from New York by Clinton to seize and fortify some strong place on the coast which could be reached easily by the British vessels. Yorktown, on the peninsula between the James and York rivers, appeared to Cornwallis to be the best location; and here he fixed the headquarters of his army.

(11) *Yorktown: 1781.*

256. Washington had not yet himself won a victory, unless we are to consider the smaller battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth as such. He had surmounted the very greatest difficulties; he had gone into battle knowing that defeat was almost certain, and yet he had made each defeat a training-school for his men; he had shown the best qualities of a general in camp and battle-field; he had been worth more than an army in keeping resistance alive; and he had well earned the universal and unfailing confidence of the people. But it certainly seemed fitting that he should also have the crowning glory of a great victory to close the war.

257. Rochambeau, with a French army of 6,000 men, had landed at Newport in the summer of 1780. They were afterward marched to Washington's camp near Peekskill and Morristown. With these soldiers to help him, Washington, early in 1781, began active operations around New York, and kept Clinton in a state of constant alarm. In August his plan was changed by the arrival of a French frigate with the news that a strong French fleet and army would soon arrive in Chesapeake Bay, and cut off Cornwallis from all assistance. Washington at once decided to leave New York, march rapidly southward, and capture Yorktown and Cornwallis before the British fleets could reach the Chesapeake and drive the French fleet away.¹ The change of plan was kept a profound secret. Clinton was kept in daily expectation of an attack on New York, and did not discover the truth

¹ The French fleet was sent from the West Indies to Chesapeake Bay, to remain about four months. It was stronger than any single British fleet then on the coast of the United States, and the British admirals did not work together well enough to unite their fleets and beat it off.

for several days after Washington and Rochambeau had started for Virginia.

258. The March to Yorktown.—The French fleet, under De Grasse, arrived in Chesapeake Bay August 30. It not only blocked Cornwallis's escape by sea, but landed soldiers enough to enable La Fayette to prevent his escape by land. On the same day, Washington and Rochambeau, who had been moving slowly down the west bank of the Hudson River, as if to attack Staten Island, suddenly struck off through New Jersey to Philadelphia, and thence to Elkton. Here they took shipping and sailed down Chesapeake Bay to the James River, where they joined La Fayette's army before Yorktown. While the march was taking place, a British fleet had tried to relieve Cornwallis, but had been beaten off by the French fleet.

259. New London.—The march southward was as much of a surprise to the American and French soldiers as to Clinton. When Clinton discovered its purpose, he tried to draw off a part of the American troops by sending the traitor Arnold to attack New London, Conn. Fort Griswold, which defended the town, was captured September 6, and its commander and most of the garrison



SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 150 200

THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN.

attacks. After three weeks of siege and hard fighting, Cornwallis found that it was impossible to resist longer. He made one attempt to take his army across the York River and hurry northward before the allies could follow him; but a sudden storm scattered his boats and defeated his plan. He then decided to surrender.

261. The Surrender took place October 19, 1781, in a large field near Yorktown.¹ The British troops, 8,000 in number, went through the same public ceremony of surrender which had been imposed on the Americans at Charleston; and Lincoln, who had commanded at Charleston, was appointed to receive Cornwallis's sword (§ 247). Cornwallis, however, was worn out by long work and fighting, and sent a subordinate to make the surrender. It had hardly taken place, when an expedition sailed from New York, with 7,000 men, to relieve Cornwallis, but it returned on finding that the surrender had taken place. The allied forces then separated. De Grasse sailed for the West Indies. The French troops remained in Virginia. The Americans marched back to New York, except a detachment which went southward and recaptured Wilmington.

(12) *Peace: 1783.*

262. Peace.—The terms of peace were not at once arranged. But it was difficult and expensive for the British Government to obtain men to serve in America, and the loss of Cornwallis's army could not be made up. When the news reached London the ministry resigned, and Parliament demanded peace so decidedly that the king gave way. Both parties agreed to cease hostilities and appoint commissioners to agree on terms. The

¹ For the centennial celebration of the surrender, see § 820.

British still held New York, Charleston, and Savannah, and the Americans were encamped near those places; but there were no more battles.

263. The Final Treaty of peace was made in 1783. Great Britain acknowledged the United States to be free and independent, with Canada as a boundary on the north, the Mississippi River on the west, and Florida, extending west to the Mississippi, on the south. Spain owned the territory west of the Mississippi, called Louisiana (§ 155); and Great Britain now transferred to her Florida also. The United States thus had Great Britain as a neighbor on the north, and Spain on the south and west. The treaty also secured the right of Americans to fish on the Newfoundland Banks.

264. The American Army was now disbanded, having been paid principally in promises. Officers and men retired to their homes very much dissatisfied with their unjust treatment by Congress and the country. Washington then appeared before Congress at Annapolis and resigned his commission. The British evacuated Savannah in July, 1782, Charleston in the following December, and New York City, their last post on the coast, November 25, 1783. But they refused to evacuate the forts north of the Ohio River, and held them for some twelve years longer (§ 309).

265. The Expenses of the war cannot be exactly stated. Those of the United States have been estimated at \$135,000,000 in specie. The debt of Great Britain was increased during the war about \$610,000,000. The British forces in the whole of North America probably never at any one time exceeded 40,000 men; and the American regular troops were about the same number. Most of the larger American armies were made up of minute-men or militia, who remained in the service but a short time.



266. The Tories.—During the war, most of the States had passed laws to confiscate the estates of persons who had taken the British side. Therefore, at the end of the war, many of the Tories retired from the United States with the British troops; those from the North going to Canada and Nova Scotia, and those from the South to the West Indies. Some of them returned, years afterward, without hindrance, after the angry feelings excited by the war had died away.

267. The Leading Events in the war of the American Revolution were as follows:

1775-6: Principally in <i>New England</i> and <i>Canada</i>	§ 194
1775: Lexington; American success (April 19)	181
Ticonderoga; American success (May 10).....	199
Bunker Hill; British success (June 17)	196
Quebec; British success (December 31)	200
1776: Evacuation of Boston; American success (March 17).....	198
Fort Moultrie, S. C.; American success (June 28).....	203
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, July 4	205
1776-8: Principally in the <i>Middle States</i>	209
1776: Long Island; British success (August 27).....	209
Evacuation of New York; British success (September 16).....	209
Washington's New Jersey retreat; British success.....	210
Trenton; American success (December 26).....	212
1777: Princeton; American success (January 3).....	212
British army transferred to Chesapeake Bay.....	215
Brandywine; British success (September 11).....	216
Germantown; British success (October 4).....	216

1777: Burgoyne's invasion.....	§ 218
Bennington; American success (August 16).....	220
Bemis Heights; drawn battle (September 19).....	222
Stillwater; American success (October 7).....	222
Burgoyne's surrender; American success (October 17).....	222
American winter quarters at Valley Forge.....	217
1778: Treaty with France (February 6).....	226
British retreat from Philadelphia; American success (June 18).....	228
Monmouth; drawn battle (June 28)..	228
Wyoming; massacre by the British (July 4).....	232
1778-81: Principally in the <i>Southern States</i>	244
1778: Capture of Savannah; British success (December 29).....	244
1779: Conquest of Georgia; British success..	246
Attack on Savannah; British success (September).....	244
Stony Point, N. Y.; American success (July 15).....	237
1780: Capture of Charleston; British success (May 12).....	247
Conquest of South Carolina; British success.....	248
Arrival of the French army at Newport, R. I. (July 10).....	257
Camden; British success (August 16).	249
Arnold's treason, N. Y. (September)..	238
King's Mountain; American success (October 7).....	250
Greene takes command in the South..	249
1781: Cowpens; American success (January 17).....	251
Greene's retreat across North Carolina.	251
Guilford Court-house; British success (March 15).....	253
Hobkirk's Hill; British success (April 25).....	254

1781: Eutaw Springs; British success (September 8).....	§ 254
End of the war in the South.....	254
Invasion of Virginia by Arnold and Cornwallis.....	255
Washington's army transferred to Virginia.....	260
Capture of Yorktown; American success (October 19).....	261
1782: Suspension of hostilities.....	262
1783: Peace (September 3).....	263

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. The causes of the Revolution.
2. Early predictions of independence.
3. The American loyalists.
4. Washington as a general.
5. Military resources of the colonies.
6. Events of the war in a particular state (*e.g.*, North Carolina).
7. Franklin in France.
8. The military importance of New York.
9. Why did Great Britain fail to subdue the colonies?

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—The documents in MacDonald's *Select Charters*, Nos. 74–80, show the failure of conciliation, and the final steps taken by the colonies and the mother country. Niles's *Principles and Acts*, and the writings of leading Americans, are of importance for the entire period of the war. The treaty of 1783 is in MacDonald's *Select Documents*, No. 3. Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, a government publication, is indispensable in its field. Sparks's *Correspondence of the Revolution* gives many letters to Washington. On the English side are Donne's *Correspondence of George III. and Lord North*, the *Chatham Correspondence*, and the works of Burke.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The general histories already cited are very full for the Revolutionary period. To them may profitably be added the older works of Grahame and Pitkin, Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution*, Gordon's *History*

of the American Revolution, and Greene's *Historical View of the American Revolution*. The best recent English view is set forth in Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century* and Trevelyan's *American Revolution*. The best concise account of the war is Fiske's *American Revolution*. Important works of a special character are: Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*; Carington's *Battles of the American Revolution*; Dawson's *Battles of the United States*; Lossing's *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*; E. J. Lowell's *Hessians in the Revolution*; Sabine's *American Loyalists*; Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne*; Lyman's *Diplomacy of the United States*; Schuyler's *American Diplomacy*; E. E. Hale's *Franklin in France*. The more important biographies, in addition to those already cited, are Hosmer's *Hutchinson*, Arnold's *Arnold*, Lossing's *Schuyler*, Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, Stone's *Brant*, Amory's *Sullivan*, Graham's *Morgan*, Greene's *Greene*, R. H. Lee's *Arthur Lee*, Wm. Jay's *Jay*, Ross's *Cornwallis*, Russell's *Fox*, Stanhope's *Pitt*, Morley's *Burke*, and Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne*.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution*; Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*; Hawthorne's *Septimius Felton*; Churchill's *Richard Carvel*; Coffin's *Boys of '76* and *Daughters of the Revolution*; Longfellow's *Paul Revere's Ride*; Holmes's *Ballad of the Boston Tea Party*, *Lexington*, and *Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill Battle*; Lowell's *Concord Ode*; Cooper's *Lionel Lincoln* (siege of Boston), *The Spy*, and *The Pilot* (Paul Jones); Thompson's *Green Mountain Boys* and *The Rangers*; G. W. Curtis's *Burgoyne's Surrender* (centennial oration); Butterworth's *Knight of Liberty* (La Fayette), Burdett's *Margaret Moncrieffe* (Burr); S. W. Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne* (Philadelphia), Harte's *Thankful Blossom* (New Jersey); P. L. Ford's *Janice Meredith* (New Jersey campaign); J. E. Cooke's *Bonnybel Vane*; Bryant's *Song of Marion's Men*, Kennedy's *Horseshoe Robinson*; W. G. Simms's *Partisan*, Mellichampe, *The Scout*, Katherine Walton, *The Forayers*, *The Eulaws* (the last seven on the war in the South).

CHAPTER X

THE CONFEDERATION

1777-1789

268. The New Nation.—The United States had thus become a nation, recognized as such by treaties with France, Great Britain, and other countries. But the new nation had come into existence rather because the American people could not help it than because the American people had any great desire for it. Most Americans at this time loved their State far better than they did the United States; and many of them really believed that they could keep each State practically independent of all the other States, as well as of the rest of the world, with little more than a promise that the States should help one another in foreign affairs. They were afraid of any "government of the United States," lest it should attempt to tryannize over the States, as the British Government had done over the colonies.

(1) *The Failure of the Confederation.*

269. The Continental Congress had managed the affairs of the Union throughout the war. It had never received any authority to govern the country; and as far as it governed at all, it did so because the mass of the people consented to allow it to govern, and because those who disliked its government were not strong enough to resist

it. The people had given authority to their State governments, by forming State constitutions, and thus the State governments had something to show for their claims to govern their States. Congress had nothing to show; it only existed because the States had sent delegates to it, and it was hoped that they would continue to do so. Now, such a government was really no government; and, as Hamilton once said, "a nation without a national government is an awful spectacle." People obeyed it when they chose to obey it, and disobeyed it when they chose to disobey it, which was more commonly the case; and no one felt safe in thinking of the future. Congress was the only means to unite the States, and for this reason it was obeyed cheerfully as long as the danger from the British was pressing; but, as that danger grew less, the State governments began to seize more and more of the power, until very little was left to Congress. As the State governments appointed the delegates to Congress, and could recall them at any time, the delegates soon came to do nothing more than obey their State governments. Thus the Continental Congress became almost powerless after 1778.

270.* A Plan of Government, called the Articles of Confederation, was agreed upon by Congress in 1777. There was to be a Congress, composed of delegates from each State, no State to be represented by less than two nor more than seven delegates, but each State to have one vote. The States were forbidden to engage in war unless invaded, or to make agreements with each other without the consent of Congress. In case of disputes between States, a method was prescribed by which the United States might decide the question. The charges of war and the expenses of the national government were to be apportioned among the several States according to the

value of land in each. For the administration of government when the Congress was not in session, a committee, consisting of one delegate from each State, was provided. To amend the Articles, the approval of the legislatures of all the States was necessary. The Articles were not to go into force until all the States should agree to them. Twelve of the States agreed within the next two years, but Maryland refused until March 1, 1781. The United States thus went through nearly the entire period of the Revolutionary War without any frame of national government. The main cause of this long delay was in disputes about the western territory.

271. Land Claims.—Much of the difficulty of arranging a new government came from the claim of some of the States to western territory. The king had given western boundaries to six of the colonies, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland; and these could not expect to extend farther westward. New York claimed to have no western boundary; but was willing to be bounded as at present. The remaining six States, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, were at first supposed to extend westward to the Pacific (§ 25). When Louisiana (§ 155) was transferred to Spain in 1763, the western claims of these colonies were cut off by the Mississippi River. But they still claimed that they extended west as far as the Mississippi. The claim of Virginia was the most extraordinary of all (§ 79). The other States which claimed to extend to the Mississippi were bounded by parallel lines on the north and south, so that they grew no wider as they extended westward. But Virginia claimed that its northern boundary ran northwest instead of west, so that its territory constantly widened as it left the coast. Virginia thus claimed the

whole of the territory now in the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The claims of Massachusetts and Connecticut crossed those of Virginia and conflicted with them.

272. These Western Claims seemed unfounded and highly unjust to the States whose western boundaries were fixed already. Those States asserted, first, that the king, by forbidding the sale of lands west of the Alleghanies, had fixed those mountains as a western boundary for all the colonies not formerly bounded; and, second, that all the States had together won this western territory from Great Britain, and should all own it together. The result was a general confusion, some of the States selling lands in the west, and quarrelling with each other where their sales conflicted, and the rest of the States crying out against the wrongfulness of such sales. Maryland, the State most determined in resistance, refused to agree to the Articles of Confederation until assurances were given that these western claims would be surrendered.

273. Land Cessions.—New York gave up its western claims to the United States in 1780, and Congress earnestly requested the other States to do likewise. In 1784 Virginia gave up its claim north of the Ohio, Massachusetts in 1785, Connecticut in 1786. South Carolina gave up its western claims in 1787, North Carolina in 1790, and Georgia in 1802. These cessions gave the United States a large western territory (§ 274). Connecticut retained and sold a large strip of land in north-eastern Ohio, along Lake Erie, which has ever since been known as the Western Reserve. Connecticut also claimed the Wyoming country, in the northern part of Pennsylvania, but this claim was given up. A claim of Massachusetts to a part of New York was purchased by the latter State.

274. The Ordinance of 1787.—The surrender of these western lands gave the national government a vast territory, for which it soon undertook to provide a form of government. As soon as Virginia had given up its claim to the northwest, the Congress of the Confederation adopted a plan, commonly known as the Ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River, or the "Northwest Territory." Slavery was forever prohibited in the Territory. The inhabitants were to enjoy religious freedom, trial by jury, and equal civil and political privileges; and common schools were to be supported and encouraged. The most important feature of the Ordinance, however, was its extension of the system of self-governing States. Congress might have attempted to govern the new region much as the British Parliament governed its colonies, and thus build up an American colonial system; but it chose otherwise. While the population was small, indeed, the Territory was to be governed by persons appointed by Congress; but as the population increased, it was to be divided into States, not more than five in number, each of which was then to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States. The five great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin are the outcome of this provision. The provisions of the Ordinance, except in regard to slavery and the number of States, were soon extended to the territory south of the Ohio River.

275. The Articles of Confederation were found to be almost worthless as soon as they were put into effect. There was to be one governing body, Congress, and yet it was to have no power to lay taxes, regulate commerce, or punish law-breaking. It could only advise the States to do these things, and the States soon came to pay little attention to the advice of Congress. Before long, Congress

could get no money to pay the debts of the country, or even the interest. Strong States passed laws which injured the people of weaker States, and there was no power to hinder them. Great Britain still discriminated against American commerce, and Congress had no power to prevent it.

276. Shays's Rebellion.—The people had expected prosperity to come with peace, but they were bitterly disappointed. Little business was done; every one was trying to collect debts, and no one had money to pay; and the people were growing poorer and desperate. In the winter of 1786–7, Massachusetts had great difficulty in suppressing an insurrection of the poorer farmers in the western part of the State, around Worcester and Springfield, who wished to stop the further collection of debts by the courts. The affair is usually called Shays's Rebellion, from the name of the leader, Daniel Shays. Other States were afraid of similar outbreaks, and they knew that Congress had no power to help them.

277. A Change of Government was often proposed, but at first there seemed to be little hope of it. The agreement had been made that the Articles of Confederation were not to be changed in the least unless all the States should consent. Whenever a change was proposed, in order to give Congress more power, some State refused to consent, and the plan fell through. Men became discouraged; many began to regret the Revolution; and some even fell to talking of a monarchy, with Washington as king.¹

(2) *Formation of the Constitution.*

278.* The First Convention.—The leading men of the country, among them Washington, Hamilton, and Madi-

¹ This notion of a monarchy had been proposed to Washington in 1782 by some of the army officers; but he had rejected it with indignation.

son, had been busily corresponding with each other, and had reached the conclusion that the root of the trouble was in the weakness of the national government, and that, somehow or other, the Articles of Confederation must be changed. It seemed to them that a convention of delegates from the States would do the work better



STATE-HOUSE AT ANNAPOLIS.

than either Congress or the State legislatures. Washington induced the Virginia Legislature to call for a convention of delegates from the States, to meet at Annapolis in 1786. Only five States responded, and the delegates took no action beyond recommending the calling of another convention to meet the following year, at Philadelphia, to revise the Articles of Confederation. Congress approved this call, and all the States except Rhode Island appointed delegates. In the mean time, Shays's Rebellion (§ 276) gave a tangible proof of the weakness of the Con-

federation, and its inability to give effective aid to a State in putting down domestic insurrection.

279.* The Federal Convention met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and chose Washington, who was a delegate from Virginia, as its presiding officer. Each State seems to have taken pains to send its ablest men as representatives, and the convention must be regarded as one of the most distinguished bodies that ever met. For months, in secret session, it held meetings, argued, and settled difficulties. More than once it was on the point of breaking up because of disagreements among its members. Most of the difficulty came from what were then "small States"—New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland—which wished to give the general government as little power as possible, for fear it would oppress and injure them. This objection was overcome by providing for a Senate in which each State should have equal representation, and by making the consent of the Senate necessary to the passage of laws. Another difficulty arose in the unwillingness of northern States to allow the slaveholding States to count their slaves in estimating their population as a basis for representation in the House of Representatives. It was finally agreed that three fifths of the slaves should be counted. A third compromise protected the slave-trade from interference until 1808. September 17, 1787, the convention agreed upon a Constitution, and adjourned. The Constitution was transmitted to Congress for submission to the States, and was to go into effect when approved by conventions in nine States.

280. The Constitution provided for a general government which should have power to act, and not simply to advise the States. It was to be in three departments: a legislative department, or Congress, to make laws; an

executive department, the President and his officers, to carry out and enforce the laws made by Congress; and a judiciary department, the federal courts, to decide disputed questions under the laws. The Constitution was to be the supreme law of the land, to be obeyed by the general government, State governments, and people. If the laws passed by Congress were disobeyed, the general government was to punish the offence: Congress was to determine the punishment; the President's officers were to arrest the offender; and the federal courts were to try him. But the punishment was always to be determined by Congress, before the offence was committed.

281. The Legislative Department, or law-making power, was represented by a Congress, composed of two branches, the Senate and the House of Representatives. Senators were to serve for six years, and each State, large or small, was to choose two. Representatives were to serve for two years, and were to be chosen by the States according to population, large States thus choosing more, and small States fewer. The two Houses together were authorized to lay taxes, borrow money, regulate commerce, coin money, establish post-offices, declare war, raise and support armies and navies, and employ militia to suppress insurrections; and the States were now forbidden to do any of these things, except to lay their own taxes, borrow money for themselves, and employ their own militia. As a general rule, a majority of each House was to be enough to pass a law; but, when the President should veto (object to) a bill within ten days after its passage, a two-thirds vote of each House was necessary to make it a law (§ 469, note). Treaties made by the President were to be approved by two-thirds of the Senate before going into effect.

282. The Executive Department, or power to execute the laws made by Congress, was represented by a Presi-

dent, chosen for four years by electors whom the people were to choose (§ 295). He was to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and to appoint most of the public officers; but most of the appointments were not to take effect until confirmed by the Senate. If he himself should misbehave, he was to be impeached (accused) by the House of Representatives, and tried by the Senate. If he should be convicted and removed, or should die, resign, or be unable to perform his duties, the Vice-President was to take his place, and become President. Except in this case, the Vice-President was merely to preside over the Senate, without voting, except in case of a tie.

283. The Judiciary Department, or power to interpret the laws made by Congress, was represented by one Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as Congress should establish. The judges were to be appointed by the President and Senate, and were to hold office for life, except in case of misconduct. Whenever an offence should be committed against a law of Congress, or whenever the meaning of a law should be in doubt, or whenever it was claimed that the Constitution gave Congress no power to pass the law, the case was, generally, to be tried first and decided by the inferior courts. If either party was dissatisfied with the decision, he could appeal to the Supreme Court, whose decision was to be final.

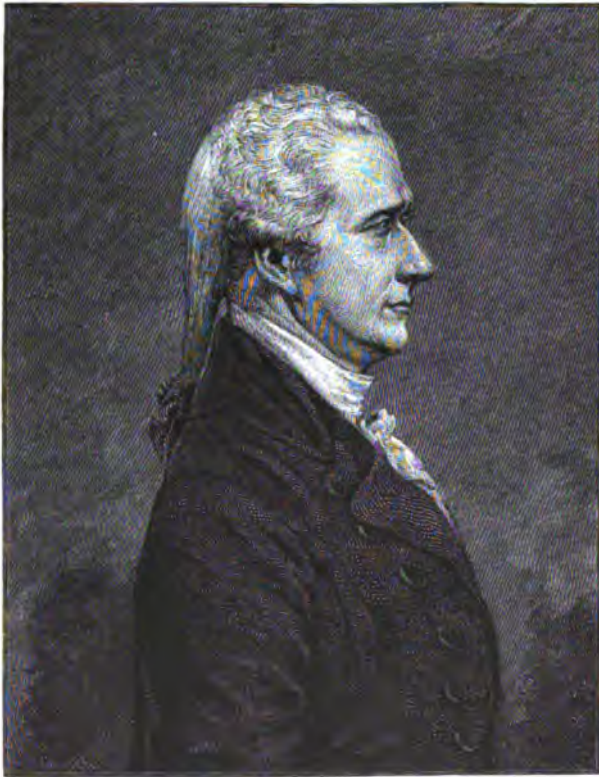
284. Other Features.—Three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in calculating the population for Representatives. Runaway slaves were to be arrested in the States to which they should flee, and returned to their owners. Congress was to govern the territory of the United States, and admit new States to be formed from it. Three fourths of the States could change the Constitution by Amendments. Each State was to be guaranteed by the United States a republican form of government.

285.* Formation of Parties.—When the Constitution came to be discussed by the people, before the election of the conventions to decide upon it, two opposing political parties were at once formed. The people had hitherto known very little of any governments except those of their States, and the new Constitution, in enlarging the powers of the Federal Government, necessarily took something from the powers of the States. Those who felt that the new Federal Government was absolutely necessary took the name of Federalists, and supported the new Constitution. Those who feared lest the State governments might suffer, or who thought the proposed national government went too far, took the name of Anti-Federalists, and opposed the new Constitution. The contest lasted for nearly a year. Most of the leading men of the country at this time were Federalists. In commending the Constitution to the thinking people of the country, no one rendered so great a service as Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton, although but thirty years old, had served with credit in the Revolutionary War, and now came forward as one of the most brilliant of political writers. In a series of papers known as the *Federalist*,¹ Hamilton showed in a masterly way the advantages of the Constitution, the meaning and scope of its provisions, and the benefits likely to follow the adoption of it. The *Federalist* has ever since been considered as a masterpiece of legal and constitutional exposition.

286. The Adoption of the Constitution was assured by the ratification of the ninth State, New Hampshire, in June, 1788. There were still four States left. Two of them, New York and Virginia, ratified soon afterward; the other two, Rhode Island and North Carolina, refused to ratify, and the Constitution went into force without their assent.

¹ A few of the papers under that title were written by Madison and Jay.

The last two States had issued paper money, and disliked the Constitution, which forbade any State to do so in future. The opposition in other States came from a fear



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

that the new Federal Government was given too much power. To remove this objection, the first ten Amendments to the Constitution were adopted and ratified in 1791 (§ 297).

287. Preparations for Inauguration.—As soon as the ninth State had ratified the Constitution, the Congress of the Confederation appointed March 4, 1789, as the day on which the new government should go into operation, and New York City as the place. It also named a day on which the people should choose electors, and another day on which the electors should meet in their States and vote for President and Vice-President. When the votes of the electors were opened and counted, it was found that each of them, sixty-nine in number, had cast one of his two votes for Washington, so that Washington became President by a unanimous vote. Thirty-four of the electors had cast their second vote for John Adams, and he became Vice-President, as this vote was next largest to that for Washington.¹ From this time, the Congress of the Confederation did little or nothing further. All men were waiting anxiously to see whether the new government was to be good or bad.

(3) *State of the Country.*

288. The Country was still very thinly settled, and the whole of it did not contain as many inhabitants as the single State of New York did in 1880. There were hardly any important towns except on the coast, and none of these were such as we are accustomed to call cities. The largest American cities of that time, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, had hardly more than 20,000 persons in any of them, and other towns were only small collections of houses. The streets were poorly paved, dirty, and rarely lighted at night. Some of the houses were large and well furnished, but none of them had the conveniences that are so common now. There were no

¹ The manner of voting for President and Vice-President was slightly changed in 1804 (§ 323).

lucifer-matches, no gas, no oil-lamps. Water was everywhere carried from the town pump or well. The richest people labored under difficulties which are almost unknown now, and the life of the poor was very hard.¹

289. The People generally lived outside of the cities, on farms, where life was still harder than in the cities. It was not easy to work with wooden ploughs, and without any of the farming tools and machinery which have since been introduced; and the farmer who raised more than he wanted found it difficult to sell his surplus. Nearly everything used by the farmer and his family, even their clothing, was made at home; and a New England farmer usually spent very little money during the year for things not produced on his farm. In the Middle States and the South life was easier, for crops cost less labor, and were easily sold for ready money; but even here the farm or plantation grew almost everything that was used. Newspapers and books were very scarce; there were hardly any amusements, except hunting and fishing; and life consisted mainly in work and rest.

290. Travelling was slow, difficult, and often dangerous. Along the coast, sailing-vessels were the usual means of travel, and a contrary wind might delay the traveller for weeks. The voyage from New York to Albany often required two weeks. The stage-coaches were slow and clumsy. They took from two to three days (as many days as the railroad takes hours) to go from New York to Philadelphia, and a week to go from New York to Boston. The roads were exceedingly bad; there were still hardly any bridges; and the rivers were crossed by means of

¹ The life of the poor man was made still harder than now because of the law of imprisonment for debt. He who owed money and was unable to pay could be arrested and kept in prison, while his wife and children were left to care for themselves as well as they could.

clumsy and dangerous flat-boats. There was more danger then in a voyage from New York City to Brooklyn or New Jersey than there is now in a voyage round the world.

291. Settlement had not yet spread far from the coast. Beyond Schenectady, the whole State of New York was still an Indian hunting-ground. The great coal and iron fields of Pennsylvania were almost unknown. Along the coast to the southward, the country was settled only up to the headwaters of the rivers that flow into the Atlantic. Between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, the whole country was a wilderness, excepting the few settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee (§ 157). The northwest was almost entirely an Indian territory; and Ohio and the present States northwest of it were less known than Alaska is now.

292. Land Companies led the way in the settlement of the northwest. Many of them were made up of former soldiers of the Revolution, who wished to settle in Ohio and found it safer to unite for mutual protection against the Indians. One of the first of these, the Ohio Company, was formed in 1787; and, partly in order to give it encouragement, the Congress of the Confederation passed the Ordinance of 1787, for the government of the region; and this was confirmed by Congress under the Constitution. The company began the settlement of Ohio in the following year, at Marietta. Cincinnati, at first called Losantiville, was founded in the same year (1788).

293. The Leading Events of this period were as follows:

1781-9: The Confederation.....	§ 269
1781: The Articles of Confederation go into force.....	270
1783: Peace with Great Britain.....	263
1784: Land cession by Virginia.....	273
1786: The Annapolis Convention.....	278
Shays's Rebellion.....	276

1787: The Federal Convention forms the Constitution	§ 279
The Ordinance of 1787 adopted.....	274
1788: Ratification of the Constitution.....	286
Settlement begun in Ohio.....	292
1789: The Constitution goes into force	287

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Why may the years 1781-1787 be called the "critical period" of American history?
2. Proposed amendments to the Articles of Confederation.
3. The ratification of the Constitution by a particular State (*e.g.*, New York).
4. The meeting-places of the Congress of the Confederation.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—The Articles of Confederation and the Ordinance of 1787 are in MacDonald's *Select Documents*, Nos. 2 and 4; for the text of the Constitution, see Appendix II., this volume. The *Journals of Congress*, 1774-1788, give somewhat meagre accounts of proceedings; there are also the *Secret Journals* for the same period. The proceedings of the constitutional convention, and of the conventions in the several States, are to be found in *Elliot's Debates*. There are numerous editions of the *Federalist*, the latest being that of Ford. The writings of public men continue to be from this time sources of the utmost importance.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The best concise account is Fiske's *Critical Period of American History*. Bancroft's work ends with 1789, but the elaborate histories of Curtis, McMaster, Schouler, and Von Holst now become available. On the finances of the Confederation see Sumner's *Financier and Finances of the Revolution* and *History of American Currency*, and Bolles's *Financial History of the United States*. On the Northwest Ordinance and public lands see Hinsdale's *Old Northwest*, King's *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, and Cutler's *Life and Journals of Manasseh Culler*. The slavery restriction in the Ordinance is discussed at length in the works of Wilson, Greeley, Stephens, and others cited under Chapters XVII. and XVIII., *post*. Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* is the best comprehensive work on the settlement of the west and

the formation of new States. The best account of the present working of government under the Constitution is Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. Important biographies, in addition to those previously cited, are: Morse's *Hamilton*; Gay's *Madison*; Rives's *Madison*; Austin's *Elbridge Gerry*; Stillé's *Dickinson*; Lodge's *Cabot*.



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER XI

FEDERALIST CONTROL

1789-1801

(I) WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATIONS: 1789-1797

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Va., President. JOHN ADAMS, Mass., Vice-President.

294.* Inauguration.—The new government was to have been organized at New York City, March 4, 1789; but travelling was slow and difficult, and the members of Congress from distant States did not arrive for several weeks. When a sufficient number of them had assembled, the votes of the electors were counted, and Washington was notified of his election as President. He journeyed slowly northward from his home in Virginia to New York, receiving enthusiastic greetings from the people on the way; and on April 30 was sworn into office by the chief judge of the State of New York, in the presence of Congress and a great number of spectators.¹ No man was so well fitted as Washington to be the first executive head of the new republic. He was in his fifty-eighth year, and from early manhood his life had been mainly passed in the public service. In the important positions to which he had been successively called, his services were seen to be indispensable; yet he accepted each call with great reluctance, and with anxious fear lest he might prove a failure.

¹ The building ("Federal Hall") in which the ceremony took place was on Wall Street, where the Subtreasury now stands.

He was one of the richest men in America, and an aristocrat by birth, position, and inclination; and he did much to commend the new government to the wealthy and aristocratic classes. On the other hand, his dignity, self-control, sympathy, and unflinching judgment made him revered by the masses of the people, who looked upon him as a great leader, in whose hands the affairs of the nation were safe.

295. The Electoral System.—The President and Vice-President of the United States are not elected directly by the people. When we read that a candidate has received a majority of several hundred thousand votes for the Presidency, it does not mean that he is elected; if he receives a majority of the electoral votes, he is elected even though his opponent should have more popular votes than he. Each State chooses as many electors as it has Senators and Representatives together; and whichever party gains a majority of these electors secures the President and Vice-President. At first, each elector merely named two persons, and the highest two names on the list of those voted for became President and Vice-President. In 1804 (§ 323), this was changed so that each elector now votes for one person for President and one for Vice-President. At first, too, the electors voted for whom they chose; but after the first two elections, it became the custom for the electors to vote only for the men nominated by their party, and it would now be considered extremely dishonorable for an elector to vote for any one else.

296. The Cabinet.—The chief officers of the principal departments are called the Cabinet, though there is no such word in the Constitution. In Washington's time, there were four of these departments, which he filled as follows: Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson; Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton; Secretary of War,

Henry Knox, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia. The Navy Department was added in 1798 (§ 319); it had previously been a part of the War Department. The Post-office Department was added in 1829; it had previously been a part of the Treasury Department. In 1849, the Department of the Interior was organized (§ 520). In 1870, the Department of Justice was made an independent department. The eighth and last department, that of Agriculture, was added in 1889, so that there are now eight members of the Cabinet.

297. Congress then proceeded to pass the laws necessary to put the new form of government into active operation. This was a work of the greatest difficulty, for everything had to be done anew; but it was done so skilfully that it has since been necessary to change it very little, except by enlarging its operation. Much of the credit for planning it must be given to Hamilton. While this work was going on, the new Constitution was ratified by North Carolina in 1789, and by Rhode Island in 1790 (§ 286); so that the original thirteen States were now all under the "new roof," as the Constitution had been called. Twelve Amendments to the Constitution were proposed by Congress; and ten of them, having been ratified by three fourths of the States, became a part of the Constitution.

298.* Organizing the Government.—The old Confederation had been so little respected during the last months of its existence that people had little interest in remembering what it had tried to do; and Congress now had before it the task of organizing the new government from the beginning. It is the lasting honor of the Federalists, who controlled both the Senate and the House of Representatives, that they so performed this work that the lines they laid down are the ones which, in the main, have been

followed ever since. The three executive departments, State, Treasury, and War, were organized and their duties defined. The Supreme Court, provided for by the Constitution, was established, together with three circuit courts and thirteen district courts; thus bringing the judicial system of the United States within easy reach of all parts of the country. An Attorney-General, to act as a legal adviser to the government, was provided for, and the incumbent soon became a member of the so-called "Cabinet." The organization of the judicial system was especially important, because the judiciary had been very weak under the Articles of Confederation, and the United States had had no legal means, as it now had, of enforcing its acts and making effective the powers granted to it. John Jay was the first chief-justice, but it was some years before the Supreme Court rendered decisions of great importance.

299.* Financial Measures.—One of the most important questions, and in many ways the most difficult, to be dealt with was that of finance. The debt of the United States, including unpaid interest, was estimated at about \$54,000,000; that of the States, at about \$25,000,000. The annual interest charge on the combined debt would amount to over \$4,500,000. It was necessary to provide for the payment of this debt, if the credit of the United States was to be maintained; but the prospect of doing so, in view of the unsettled condition of the country, seemed dark. The financial genius of Hamilton, who early showed himself the strongest member of the Cabinet, proved its power in no direction more distinctly than in meeting and overcoming these difficulties. Hamilton proposed to pay the foreign and domestic debt in full, including the arrears of interest, and to have the United States assume the Revolutionary debts of the States. The

first part of the plan was accepted without difficulty, but the proposed assumption of the State debts aroused strong opposition. Some of the States had made large payments on their debt, while others had paid nothing, and it was charged that the general assumption of these debts would be grossly unfair. The matter was further complicated by a controversy over the location of the national capital. Pennsylvania and Virginia were rival claimants for the honor, and neither side was disposed to yield to the other. Hamilton, with Jefferson's aid, finally arranged a compromise, by which, in return for enough votes to carry through the assumption plan, Philadelphia was to be the capital for ten years, but after that time the capital was to be located on the Potomac. To meet the annual charge for interest on the debt, Hamilton proposed a scheme of duties on imports and on some articles of domestic production; and this also was adopted.

300.* National Bank.—As a further aid to putting the finances of the government on a firm basis, Hamilton, in 1790, proposed the incorporation of a national bank. The opposition which had developed over the assumption scheme broke out with renewed violence in Congress, and was taken up in the country. The relations between Hamilton and Jefferson, meantime, had become strained, and served to increase the opposition. The Constitution says nothing about a bank; but Hamilton argued that a bank was a customary and useful means of assisting national credit, and since it was not forbidden by the Constitution, Congress might rightfully create a bank as a means "necessary and proper" for the execution of powers explicitly granted. This "broad construction" of the Constitution was strongly opposed by Jefferson. Washington was in doubt as to the propriety of signing the bill, and called for the written opinions of the mem-

bers of the Cabinet. Hamilton's opinion, with which Washington concurred, still remains one of the clearest and most convincing expositions of the doctrine of "implied powers" ever written. The bank was at once established, and had a prosperous career until 1811, when its charter expired by limitation.

301.* Slavery.—It will be remembered that slavery and the slave-trade had been the occasions of two of the compromises agreed upon by the constitutional convention in 1787. There was as yet no general discussion of slavery as an institution, nor any general desire to interfere with it. But in 1790 the subject came before Congress in such a way as to compel Congress to decide upon the principles it would follow in dealing with the matter. Certain memorials from societies in Pennsylvania and New York, praying for the abolition of the slave-trade, were presented in the House of Representatives. In response, the House declared that it could not, under the Constitution, lawfully prohibit the slave-trade until 1808, although it could prohibit American citizens from engaging in the African trade for the purpose of supplying foreigners with slaves; and that it had no authority to emancipate slaves, or interfere with the treatment of them by any State. These principles were consistently adhered to by Congress for more than seventy years.

302. New States.—Two of the "old thirteen" States, North Carolina and Rhode Island, which had not at first ratified the Constitution, ratified it during Washington's first term, and thus made the original States unanimous. But the State system was not to stop here. In 1791, Vermont (§ 65) was admitted as a State, with the same privileges of self-government as the "old thirteen." Then, in 1792, came Kentucky, which had been a part of Virginia, but which Virginia was now willing to allow

to govern itself as a State. This was followed, in 1796, by Tennessee, which had been a part of North Carolina, so that there were sixteen States in the Union when Washington's administrations were ended.

303. Political Contest did not occur for some time. The Anti-Federalists (§ 285) had broken up, for the peace and quiet which followed the adoption of the Constitution had for a time silenced all opposition to it. But many of those who had been Federalists began to be alarmed by the strength shown by the new government. They were anxious to keep the State governments strong and vigorous, for they believed that good government was in most cases surer from the States, each of which best knew the needs of its own people; and they began to fear that the new Federal Government would grow so strong as to destroy the States. About 1792, they took the name of the Republican party. Washington himself was not a party man, but his sympathies were with the Federalists. It was not long before his Cabinet (§ 296) was divided by the new feeling: Jefferson and Randolph became the Republican leaders, and Hamilton and Knox the Federalist leaders.

304. The Two Parties were thus the Federalists and the Republicans.¹ Both parties desired good government: but the Federalists thought that this could best be obtained through the Federal Government; the Republicans, through the State governments. The Federalists wished the laws to give as much, and the Republicans as little, power as possible to the Federal Government. The Federalists were more numerous in the North, the

¹ The name Republican was gradually changed, in the next twenty years, to Democratic, which is still the name of the party. The present Republican party is not the original party of that name, but is more like the old Federalist party.

Republicans in the South. The Federalists were more numerous among the merchants, business men, and commercial classes; the Republicans, among the farmers. Finally, the Federalists inclined somewhat toward English ideas of government; the Republicans, a great deal toward France, and the right of all men to share in the government. When the time came for the second Presidential election, in 1792, the Republicans had not grown sufficiently to contest the election warmly. All the electors again voted for Washington; and John Adams, who was a Federalist, received the next largest number of votes, and was re-elected Vice-President.

305. The French Revolution began in 1789. For more than 150 years, the French kings had ruled by their own will. All this time the people of France were grievously misgoverned, and were taxed so heavily, for the luxurious support of the king and nobles, that they could hardly find means to live. Affairs finally became so bad that the king was compelled to call the States General together again, to consult about raising money. When it met, it gradually began to take all the power to itself; and in the next few years it abolished the former government, drove the nobles out of the country, put the king and queen to death, and engaged in a general war against the neighboring kingdoms of Europe. Great Britain was its principal enemy, and there was very little peace between the two countries until 1815.

306. Genet's Mission.—France, now a republic, expected help from the United States in its war against England. A treaty had been made between France and the United States in 1778, and France had greatly aided this country during the Revolution. The British navy was far the most powerful in the world, and was able to shut up the French vessels in their own ports; but France

hoped to attack her enemy from America. In 1793, the French Government sent a minister, Genet, to the United States, to fit out privateers (§ 240) in American ports against British commerce. It was impossible for the United States to allow this to be done without joining in the war against Great Britain, and Washington firmly prevented it, and in addition issued a proclamation declaring the purpose of the United States to remain neutral during the war. The issuance of the proclamation greatly offended France. Genet was troublesome and insolent all through the year, and was then recalled by France, at Washington's request.

307. The Whiskey Insurrection.—One of the laws passed by Congress laid a tax on whiskey. The roads in the United States were at that time so bad that the settlers in the western part of Pennsylvania and Virginia could not carry their grain to market without paying for the carrying more than they could sell it for. They had therefore been in the habit of turning it into whiskey, which had greater value for its bulk than the grain from which it was made, and was more easily carried. They disliked to pay the new tax, and, in 1794, their resistance became so angry that Washington was compelled to send a small force of militia to Pittsburgh to restore order. The disturbance was known as the Whiskey Insurrection.

308. Indian Wars followed the entrance of settlers into Ohio. In 1790, the Indians began to attack the new settlements. General Harmar was sent against them, and was badly defeated near the place where the city of Fort Wayne now stands. In 1791, General St. Clair made another attempt; and he was also surprised and defeated near the headwaters of the Wabash River. The Indians now demanded, as the price of peace, that no settlements should ever be made on their side of the Ohio River.

But, in 1794, General Anthony Wayne (§ 237) led an expedition into the Indian country. The Indians could not surprise him, and in a battle, near the present city of Toledo, he inflicted a total defeat upon them. They then made a treaty by which they gave up forever the present State of Ohio.

309. Jay's Treaty.—The United States had had many reasons to be dissatisfied with Great Britain. Great Britain still held Detroit and other forts in the Northwest, though it had promised to give them up (§ 263); and British officers there were believed to have helped the Indians against the United States. English vessels on the ocean were in the habit of seizing American vessels which attempted to trade with any country with which England was at war. To prevent war, Chief-Justice Jay was sent to Great Britain, and, in 1794, concluded a treaty with that country. It provided for the surrender of the northwestern forts, and for the payment of American claims for damages; but, as it gave some new advantages to Great Britain and did not mention some of the points in dispute, it excited great opposition in the United States. It proved, however, to be sufficient to settle the difficulties between the two countries for about ten years (§ 343).

310. Washington refused to be a candidate for a third term of office as President; and, in 1796, he issued a Farewell Address to the American people. It urged them to make religion, education, and public good faith the foundations of their government, to remain united, and to resist foreign influence. It was not meant for the American people of that time alone, and its advice will never cease to be valuable. At the end of his term, Washington retired to his plantation of Mount Vernon, in eastern Virginia, where he passed the remainder of his life as a private citizen (§ 325).

311. The Presidential Election in 1796 was warmly contested by the two parties. The Federalists voted for Adams, and the Republicans for Jefferson. Adams

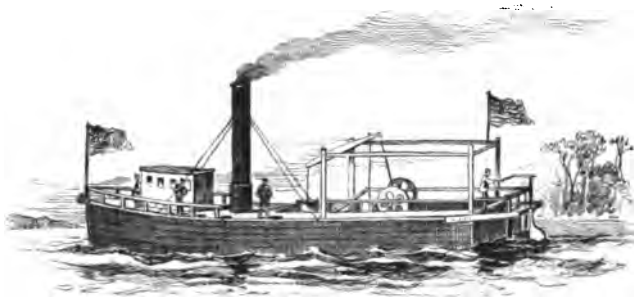


MOUNT VERNON.

was elected President, most of his electoral votes coming from Northern States, while Jefferson's came from Southern States. Jefferson stood next to Adams in the vote, and thus became Vice-President.

312. The Prosperity of the United States had increased during these eight years, with order and better government. Commerce had grown, because the wars in Europe left trade mainly to American vessels. The American flag began to be known in distant seas; and in 1790, the Boston ship *Columbia*, Captain Gray, made the first American voyage around the world. Manufactures had also revived, and patents began to be issued. In 1793, the mint sent out its first coins, about 11,000 copper cents; and in 1795, gold coins were issued. To take the place of the old and poor roads, turnpike-roads began to

be built from a few of the principal cities; they were carefully laid out, and the cost of maintaining them was paid by tolls collected from travellers. Two small canals were dug in New England; and the first attempts were



FITCH'S STEAMBOAT.

made, by John Fitch and others, to move boats by steam. They were not successful, but they led the way to Fulton's success (§ 337).

313. The Weakness of the United States.—The country, however, was not yet by any means great or strong. It was not rich; its government was heavily in debt; and as it was very difficult to put aside money enough to equip an army or build war-vessels, foreign nations did not care much for its friendship. Its population, by the first census (in 1790), was ascertained to be 3,929,214. This was not nearly as many as there were in 1890 in the State of New York alone, or in Pennsylvania (Appendix IV.). The States of Ohio and Illinois, which had hardly any white population in 1790, had each nearly as large a population in 1890 as the whole United States had in 1790. Any one of these four States would now be a more dangerous enemy to a foreign nation of the power of Great Britain in 1790 than the whole United States was then.

314. The West had fairly begun to grow. The roads to Ohio, whither most emigrants went, were still very poor, and the settlers, before reaching their new homes, were obliged to journey through a wilderness in Pennsylvania, and down a river infested with Indians. These difficulties, however, could not check immigration. The towns of Cincinnati, Marietta, Chillicothe, and Cleveland had been founded; and from this time the Northwest grew rapidly in population and wealth. In 1793, the first



CINCINNATI IN 1787 (Fort Washington).

newspaper in the northwest was issued at Cincinnati, while it was yet a town of about a hundred log-cabins. In 1794, two large passenger-boats ran regularly between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. They were moved by oars, had bullet-proof sides, and were armed with cannon to protect them from the Indians.

315. The Mississippi Treaty.—The people of Tennessee and Kentucky had been very much troubled by the Spaniards, who claimed to own the lower part of the Mississippi River, as well as the country beyond it. In 1795, a treaty with Spain was made by the United States: it allowed both nations to use the river. Thus the American settlers on the Ohio River, and in Kentucky and Tennessee, were able to send their crops to market in the Spanish city of New Orleans.¹

¹ Western rivers were only half useful to settlers until steam was introduced,

316. The South was even more prosperous than the rest of the country. It had produced, up to this time, mainly indigo, rice, tar, and tobacco. Cotton had been tried, but was not profitable, for its seeds stuck to it so closely that a slave could clean but five or six pounds in a day. In 1793, Eli Whitney, a Connecticut teacher living in Georgia, invented the saw-gin, in which revolving teeth dragged the cotton between parallel wires, leaving the seeds behind. With this machine, a slave could clean a thousand pounds of cotton in a day. The cultivation of cotton at once became very profitable, and increased enormously. But, unfortunately, negro slavery also became far more important to the South, and there was now little likelihood of its dying out there, as it was in the North (§ 188).

(II) JOHN ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION: 1797-1801

JOHN ADAMS, Mass., President. THOMAS JEFFERSON, Va., Vice-President.

317.* The New President.—John Adams was undoubtedly one of the ablest men in the Federalist party. He had had long experience in public life. He had been one of the foremost leaders in the Revolution, and a member of the Continental Congress. He was the first American minister to Great Britain and the Netherlands, returning from diplomatic service to become Vice-President. He was honest and sincere; but he had come to have a profound dislike of a weak national government, and wanted to see the new Federal Government still more strongly administered. Unfortunately, he had little tact in dealing

for boats could not easily be rowed against the current. When cargoes were sent in flat-boats down the Mississippi to New Orleans, the boats were usually broken up and sold as lumber, and the sailors walked or rode back up the river-bank.

with men of opposing views, and did not get on well with the Federalist leaders, and particularly with Hamilton, whose financial success had given him great influence with the commercial and moneyed classes. Adams's term began with success, and ended with failure.

318. Difficulties with France filled much of Adams's administration. The French Government was controlled by a few unusually selfish men, who were at war with most of the world, and were determined that the United States should pay them money for the privilege



JOHN ADAMS.

of remaining at peace. They turned the American minister out of the country; passed laws which made American commerce difficult and dangerous; and encouraged their naval officers to capture American vessels and cargoes. When special ministers were sent by President Adams to remonstrate, they were told plainly that these proceedings would not be stopped until the men who controlled the French Government were paid a large sum of money as a bribe for peace. The American ministers answered that they would spend "millions for defence, not one cent for tribute"; and the American people backed them heartily and prepared for war.

319. War with France, though not formally declared, really took up the last half of the year 1798. Congress

met, set aside the treaties with France, formed an army with Washington at its head, increased the navy (§ 296), and ordered the capture of French vessels. Several naval fights followed, in which a number of French privateers were taken. The most important battle took place near the island of St. Kitt's, in the West Indies, where the *Constellation*, Commodore Truxton, fought and captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente*.¹

320. Peace was made in 1799. Napoleon Bonaparte overturned the former French government, and put himself in its place. He then offered fair terms of peace to the United States, and they were accepted. In a few years he made himself emperor of the French, and extended his empire over most of western Europe. He could not reach the British Islands, which were guarded by the strongest navy in the world; but the war between him and Great Britain lasted almost constantly until his downfall in 1815 (§ 397).

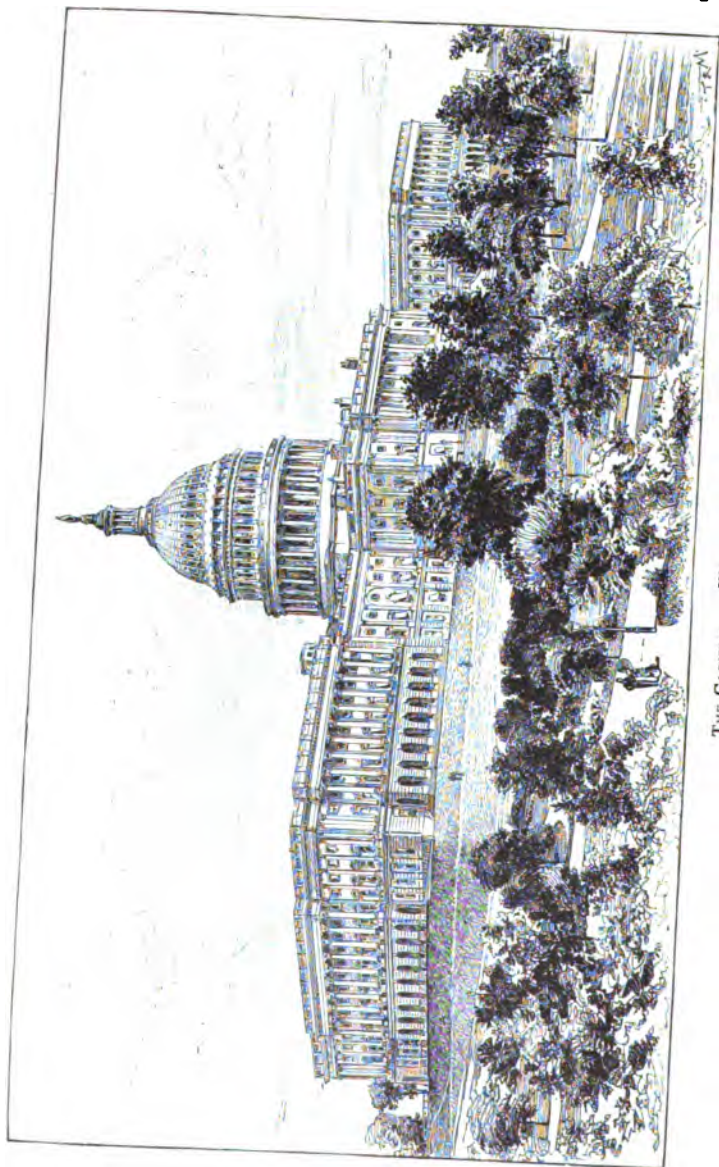
321.* Alien and Sedition Laws.—The war excitement led the Federalists in Congress to do some extremely unwise things. The comments of the Republican newspapers on the conduct of the government had been bitter and often scurrilous; and as many of the editors were foreigners, the Federalists determined to punish them. Laws were passed, known as the Alien and Sedition laws, empowering the President to arrest and imprison aliens, or foreigners, whom he should deem dangerous to the peace of the country, or even to expel them from the United States, if he thought proper; and also laws for the punishment of persons who, by word or writing, spoke evil of the government or any branch of it. Adams did not use the power given him, but there were a number of prosecutions

¹ The national song, "Hail Columbia," was published and became popular during this war excitement.

for sedition, and some convictions. The acts were bitterly denounced by the Republicans, who declared them to be an unwarranted interference with free speech, and insisted upon the right of every man to criticise the government or its acts.

322. Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.—The Alien and Sedition laws aroused great alarm as to the lengths to which the Federalists might go. The legislature of Virginia adopted some resolutions, drawn up by Madison, declaring that the States were not bound to obey objectionable laws of Congress. Similar resolutions, drafted by Jefferson, were passed in Kentucky. Other States to which the resolutions were sent declined to approve them; but the majority of the people felt that the action of the Federalists was high-handed and dangerous, and at the following election the Federalist party was so completely defeated that it never again came into control of the government.

323. The Presidential Election in 1800 was one of great excitement. The Federalists voted for President Adams and C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina; the Republicans, for Jefferson and Aaron Burr, of New York. Jefferson and Burr received the highest number of electoral votes (73), but each had the same number. In case of such a tie vote, the Constitution directed that the House of Representatives should choose one of the two for President. After some delay, and a good deal of angry discussion, the House chose Jefferson President and Burr Vice-President. In consequence of the difficulties of this election, the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1804 (§ 295). It changed the manner of the election of President and Vice-President, and made it as it still remains. The electors were now to vote separately for President and Vice-President, so that there could be no



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

such tie as the one between Jefferson and Burr, where both were of the same party.

324. The Population of the United States was shown by the census of 1800 to be 5,308,483, a considerable growth since 1790 (§ 313). In the West, Mississippi and Indiana were formed into Territories, showing that their population was increasing. The Territory of Ohio was growing rapidly, and was soon to be a State. In the older parts of the country there was little change except the steady growth of population. In 1800, the national capital, and the books and papers of the government, were removed from Philadelphia (§ 299) to the new city of Washington, then a straggling half-built village in the woods, with a few public buildings and very little else. The Capitol and the other fine buildings now in the city have been built as the country has grown richer.

325. Washington died suddenly in 1799. His death was followed by mourning throughout the United States. Even in countries beyond the sea, the event was announced as a general loss to mankind.

326. The Leading Events in the administrations of Washington and Adams were as follows:

1789-93: Washington's First Term.....	§ 294
1789: Inauguration of the new government.....	294
Ratification by North Carolina.....	297
1790: Ratification by Rhode Island.....	297
Indian war in Ohio.....	308
1791: Harmar's defeat by the Indians.....	308
St. Clair's defeat by the Indians.....	308
National bank established.....	300
Vermont admitted.....	302
1792: Kentucky admitted.....	302
Parties formed.....	303
1793: The cotton-gin invented.....	316
Genet's mission from France.....	306
1793-7: Washington's Second Term.....	304

1794: Whiskey Insurrection.....	§ 307
Wayne's defeat of the Ohio Indians..	308
Jay's treaty.....	309
1795: Treaty with Spain.....	315
1796: Tennessee admitted.....	302
Washington's Farewell Address.....	310
1797-1801: John Adams's Term.....	317
1798: War with France.....	319
Alien and Sedition laws.....	321
1799: Peace with France.....	320
Death of Washington.....	325
1800: Removal of the capital to Washington	324
Defeat of the Federalists.....	323

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Washington as a party leader.
2. History of the first ten amendments to the Constitution.
3. Hamilton's theory of government.
4. Federalism in a particular State (*e.g.*, Massachusetts).
5. Grounds of continued ill feeling between Great Britain and the United States, to 1800.
6. Settlement of the Ohio valley.
7. Early antislavery agitation.
8. Emancipation of slaves in the Northern States.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Documents* gives the texts of Hamilton's principal financial reports (Nos. 6, 8, 9, and 10), the opinions of Jefferson and Hamilton on the constitutionality of a national bank (Nos. 10 and 11), Washington's proclamation of neutrality (No. 13) and message on the Whiskey Insurrection (No. 15), the Jay treaty (No. 14), Adams's message on the X Y Z negotiations (No. 16), the Alien and Sedition acts (Nos. 17-20), and the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions (Nos. 21-23). The presidential messages are in Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, a government publication, vol. 1.; Washington's Farewell Address is in *ibid.*, pp. 213-224. The great series of so-called *Congressional Documents* begins with the first Congress, in 1789; for their classification and contents, see the bibliographical note to MacDonald's

Select Documents. The most important of these documents, except the *Journals* of the Senate and House of Representatives, are also to be found in the *American State Papers*. For the debates in Congress, we have, for this period, the *Annals of Congress*; the most important parts are also in Benton's *Abridgment of Debates in Congress*. The latter work extends to 1850. The acts of Congress are published in volumes, from time to time, under the title of *Statutes at Large*, and also in pamphlet form at the close of each session of Congress. Treaties are collected in a volume entitled *Treaties and Conventions*, issued as a government document.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—Gibbs's *Administrations of Washington and Adams* is a special work on this period. To the lives and writings of Washington, John Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and others, previously cited, should be added Henry Adams's *Gallatin*, Upham's *Timothy Pickering*, Garland's *John Randolph*, Davis's *Burr*, and Gilman's *Monroe*. J. C. Hamilton's *History of the Republic of the United States* is devoted primarily to Alexander Hamilton's career. On the details of the presidential elections, from this time on, see Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*. Bolles's *Financial History of the United States*, Sumner's *American Currency*, H. C. Adams's *Public Debts*, and Elliot's *Funding System* are important for financial topics. The early history of slavery under the Constitution is perhaps best treated in Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*. On the westward expansion see Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*. The numerous articles on American history, by Alexander Johnston, in Lalor's *Cyclopædia of Political Science*, have marked value.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—H. H. Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry*; W. G. Simms's *Beauchampe*; Cooper's *Miles Wallingford*; J. E. Cooke's *Leather Stocking and Silk*.

REPUBLICAN SUPREMACY

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Va., President. } AARON BURR, N. Y., Vice-President, 1801-1805.
 } GEO. CLINTON, N. Y., Vice-President, 1805-1809.

328. The Nation at Home.—Jefferson and his party believed in State sovereignty (§§ 303, 304). If two States that are sovereign to the fullest extent, such as France and Spain, join for any purpose, either can withdraw whenever it thinks best. If the States of the Union were

sovereign to a like extent, any one of them could withdraw; or secede, whenever it thought best. The struggles of these years, and particularly the war with Great Britain, taught the Republican party that it must support the nation, whether the States liked it or not. So well was the lesson learned that, but for slavery, there would never again have been any danger of secession; and most men thought that there was no further danger from slavery when the importation of slaves was forbidden, in 1808.

329.* The President.—Jefferson had been long in public life, and had many claims to popular confidence and esteem. He was born in 1743, became a lawyer, and served successively as member of the Continental Congress, governor of his State, and minister to France, returning from abroad to become Secretary of State under Washington. As Secretary, he soon quarrelled with Hamilton, and at the beginning of 1794 retired from the Cabinet. In the mean time, he had come forward as the leader of the Democratic, or Republican, party, which opposed the strong centralized government of the Federalists, and was elected Vice-President in 1796, and President in 1800. He was a poor public speaker, but a fluent and effective writer, and exercised an extraordinary control over his party.

330. Jefferson's Inauguration marks a great change in the people and in their feelings. Before the Revolution, and for some time after it, the people had been rather slow in their ways of thinking, speaking, and acting. Except in New England, they were accustomed to leave political matters to a few men, to the king, to his governors, or to rich or influential men in their own colonies. Generally, those who owned no property were not allowed to vote, and those who owned property and voted were disposed to keep the rest in order by

strong government. But the change to a republic had changed the feelings of the people. They had become more like the Americans of the present time, active,



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

pushing, and impatient of too much dignity in their neighbors.

331. The Republicans.—The real reason why Jefferson and his party had come into power was that they represented the new men and the new feeling. They even tried

to show the change by their manners and dress. They ceased to wear the wigs or cues of former times; wore their own hair, cut short; laughed at the formal manners, dignity, and dress of the Federalists; and insisted that every man should have a vote, property or no property. From this time, their ideas largely controlled the country, outside of New England; and in Congress they made the laws to suit themselves. But they made very little change in the forms of government which the Federalists had left them; and our government is still administered very much after the plans introduced by the Federal party.

332. The Federalists.—To the Federalists, the changes introduced by the Republicans seemed dangerous in the extreme. Some of the leaders showed their disapproval by retiring from political life altogether, while others were forced into retirement by defeat at elections. In New York, where the Vice-President, Aaron Burr, had much political influence, the feeling was very bitter; and the greatest of Federalists, Hamilton, was shot and killed by Burr in a duel. Between the Federalists and the Republicans there were never any important points of contact; and from this time the Federalists ceased to have, as a party, much weight in national affairs.

(1) *Domestic Affairs.*

333. Domestic Affairs under Jefferson were at first marked by a wonderful prosperity. American commerce increased enormously; for as nearly all Europe was now at war, it was not safe to send goods in European vessels, which were liable to capture by their enemies, and American vessels obtained far more than their natural share of the trade of the world. Money came in rapidly to the government of the United States, and its debt was soon

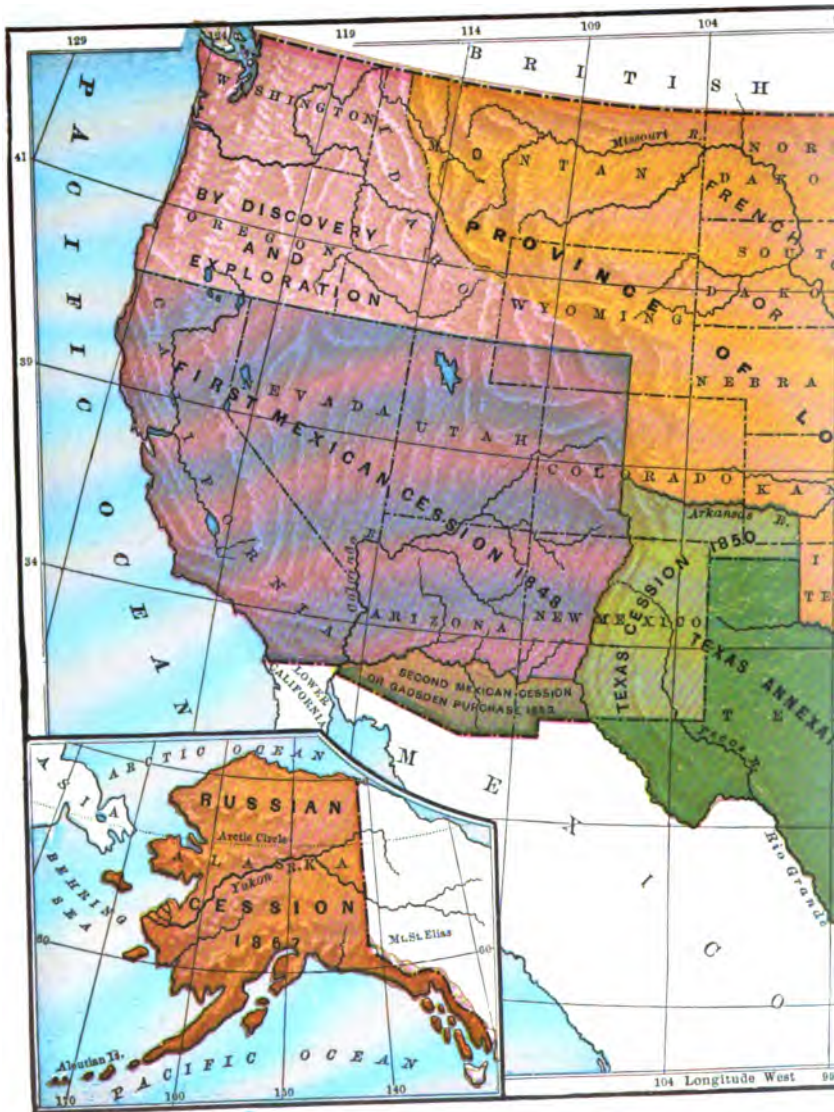
nearly paid. Above all, the territory of the United States was more than doubled by the purchase of Louisiana.

334. Louisiana Purchase.—The great territory between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains (§ 155), called Louisiana, no longer belonged to Spain. Napoleon had bought it in 1800, and intended to make it a strong French colony. But in 1803, perhaps having reason to believe that his enemy Great Britain intended to attack it, he sold it to the United States for \$15,000,000. Before 1803, the United States covered 827,844 square miles; the purchase of Louisiana more than doubled this, adding over 1,100,100 square miles of new territory (§ 773). Steamboats and railroads, by carrying immigration into the new territory, have since made it very valuable. There have been formed from it the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, and Indian Territory, and a great part of the States of Minnesota, Colorado, and Wyoming.¹

335. The Oregon Country, covering the present States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, was then unknown. In 1804, President Jefferson sent a land expedition under Lewis and Clarke, which explored the upper Missouri River, and the country around the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. This gave the United States a claim to this territory also, though its claim was not admitted for nearly forty years (§ 523).

336.* Ohio, the first State formed from the Northwest Territory under the Ordinance of 1787 (§ 274), was admitted into the Union in 1802. Its constitution was noticeable for the liberality of its provisions, and the

¹ It was thought at the time that Louisiana included Texas also, but in 1819 the United States gave up this claim to Spain in return for Florida (§ 414).





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power given to the people as a whole, rather than to particular classes.

337. The Steamboat.—The year 1807 is marked by one of the most important events in American history—Robert Fulton's invention of the steamboat. The steam-engine of Watt had been known and used for forty years, and many unsuccessful attempts had been made to use it in turning the paddle-wheels of vessels. Fulton succeeded; and his first clumsy vessel, the *Clermont*, made the trip from New York to Albany, 150 miles, in 32 hours. The appearance of his boat was not materially different from that of a small side-wheel steamer of the present day. This was the best thing that had yet happened for the West. The first western steamboat was built at Pittsburgh in 1811, and within a few years every western river had its steamboats. Nothing had yet helped emigration so much, or given the settlers so many new ways of making money. The great rivers of the United States could now be used against the current, as well as with it, and steamboats carried passengers and freight where rowboats had not been able to carry them.¹



ROBERT FULTON.

¹ The first sea-going steam-vessel, the *Savannah*, crossed the Atlantic in 1819, but ocean navigation by steam was not permanently established until nearly twenty years afterwards (§ 447).

338. The Wealth of the Country was steadily growing, and the people were busily seeking new means of industry. The system of patents, which gave an inventor the exclusive right to his invention all over the United States, was rapidly increasing the number of useful American inventions. Attempts were made to produce a mowing and reaping machine, but they were not yet successful (§ 448). In 1806, the first boat-load of anthracite coal was shipped to Philadelphia, but no one knew how to use it.¹

339. The Presidential Election in 1804 resulted in the success of the Republicans. Jefferson was re-elected President, and George Clinton was elected Vice-President. Burr, who had been elected Vice-President in 1800, had fallen out of favor with his party and was not re-elected.²

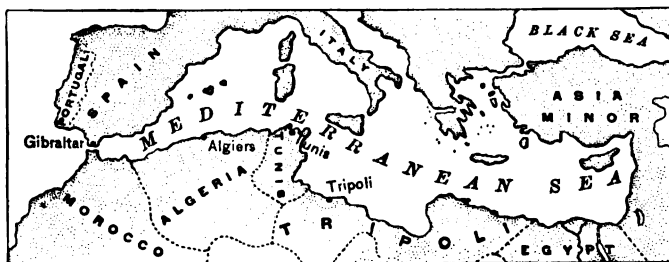
340. Burr, who had retired from public life in 1805, did not long remain quiet. In 1806 he collected armed men in Kentucky and Tennessee, and along the Ohio River, and sailed with them in boats down the Mississippi. It was suspected that he intended to set up a separate government of his own in the Mississippi valley, or to attack the Spanish province of Mexico. He was stopped by the United States authorities at Natchez, and sent back to Richmond to be tried for treason. As he had not actually borne arms against the United States, he was acquitted, although Jefferson made every effort to secure his conviction. Burr disappeared from public view.

¹ At first, Americans knew only open stoves, burning wood or soft coal. The anthracite, or "stone-coal," fields of Pennsylvania were discovered in 1791, but the coal was not generally used until about 1830 (§ 446).

² The Federalist candidates were C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York. They received only 14 electoral votes out of 176 (§ 295).

(2) *Foreign Affairs.*

341. The Barbary States, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, were Mohammedan countries. They considered Christian nations to be heathens, and, unless they were paid to remain at peace, captured Christian vessels and made slaves of the sailors. The greatest nations of Europe, as well as the United States, had always submitted to this demand, and had paid these pirates liberally for peace.



BARBARY STATES.

342. The Tripolitan War began in 1801. Tripoli demanded more money from the United States, and, when it was refused, began to capture American vessels. The little American navy was sent to the Mediterranean. One frigate, the *Philadelphia*, ran aground in the harbor of Tripoli, in 1803, and was captured; but Lieutenant Decatur, with twenty picked sailors, sailed into the harbor and burned her. A land expedition attacked Tripoli from the eastward, and the navy bombarded the town from the harbor; and in 1805, Tripoli yielded and made peace. Other nations followed the American example, and in a few years the Barbary pirates were forced to remain at peace without being paid for it (§ 404).

343.* Orders and Decrees.—The wars in Europe between Great Britain and France had by this time become of world-wide importance. Great Britain had the most powerful navy in the world, and France the strongest army; and each country sought to compel other countries to side with it. It was difficult for the United States to escape the aggressions of one or other of the combatants; and as events turned out, it became a prey of both. Jay's treaty (§ 309) expired in 1806, and the United States was left without a commercial treaty with Great Britain. In the same year, Great Britain, by an Order in Council, declared a blockade of all those parts of Europe which had sided with France, and forbade vessels to enter their harbors. Napoleon thereupon issued the Berlin Decree, forbidding neutral vessels to enter British harbors. In 1807, Great Britain replied by forbidding neutral vessels to enter any ports in Europe except those of Great Britain and of Sweden, the latter country being friendly to Great Britain. Napoleon then issued the Milan Decree, ordering the capture and sale of any neutral vessel which should enter a British harbor. As the United States, being neutral, had been absorbing more and more of the carrying trade with Europe, these orders and decrees, if enforced, meant the annihilation of its foreign commerce. Great Britain also claimed the right of search and impressment; that is, the right to stop a vessel belonging to another nation, examine its cargo, and take off sailors who seemed to the British officers to have been born in Great Britain or Ireland. Nothing was more exasperating to the United States than the assertion of such a claim, or more humiliating than to be compelled to submit to the exercise of it.

344. American Policy.—American commerce suffered severely from these measures. Great numbers of vessels

were seized and sold by Great Britain and France, and many Americans were forced to serve on British war-vessels. If the American Government had been as strong as it now is, it would have compelled the two contending nations to respect the rights of its citizens. But the country, though growing rapidly, was still poor and weak. The Republicans, whose strength was among the farmers and the people of the smaller towns, were anxious to pay off the national debt, and begrudged the expense of a navy. Few persons believed that, even if the country had a navy, it would be able to withstand Great Britain, whose navy was popularly regarded as invincible. Jefferson, whose views on all these points were the views of his party, was determined to have peace; and even when a British frigate, the *Leopard*, stopped the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, which was in no condition for fighting, and compelled her to give up four of her sailors, the President successfully resisted the country's desire to declare war. When all the injuries together had become unbearable, the Republican party decided to stop American commerce for a time, in hope of bringing Great Britain to reason by injuring her trade rather than by open war.

345. The Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts.—To follow out this plan, Congress in 1807 passed the Embargo Act, which forbade the departure of any vessel from the United States for a foreign port. But it turned out to be a complete failure. Great Britain liked it because it left almost all trade to British vessels. In New England, whose people were then largely supported by commerce, all business was broken up, the people became poorer and desperate, and a few of them began to talk of separating from the Union. In other parts of the Union, also, it was found that crops were of little value when they could no longer be carried to foreign countries and sold. Nothing

had been gained by violent interference with the natural order of things. So great and general was the dissatisfaction with the Embargo that, in 1809, Congress passed instead of it the Non-Intercourse Act. This still forbade trade with Great Britain or France while their offensive measures were continued, but allowed trade with other countries.

346.* The Presidential Election.—This state of things was an unhappy ending for Jefferson's administrations. The people were hopeless of fair treatment from Great Britain or France, and were almost ready for war against the principal offender, Great Britain. The election of 1808, however, notwithstanding the disastrous effects of the Embargo and Non-Intercourse laws, resulted in Republican success. James Madison, of Virginia, was chosen President, and George Clinton was re-elected Vice-President. Madison was as anxious for peace as Jefferson was. But the views of the Republicans were changing. They had wished the States to be strong, and as independent as possible; but they were beginning to see that, in dealing with other nations, a strong national government was a necessity. Moreover, the membership of Congress, particularly of the House of Representatives, was showing an increasing percentage of young men; and it was unlikely that the aggressions of either Great Britain or France, if they should continue, would long be borne without forcible resistance.

347. The Leading Events of Jefferson's administrations were as follows:

1801-05: Jefferson's First Term.....	§ 329
1801: War with Tripoli.....	342
1802: Admission of Ohio.....	336
1803: Burning of the <i>Philadelphia</i>	342
Purchase of Louisiana.. ..	334

1804: Lewis and Clarke's expedition.....	335
1805: Peace with Tripoli.....	342
1805-09: Jefferson's Second Term.....	339
1806: European blockade by Great Britain..	343
Berlin Decree by Napoleon.....	343
1807: Orders in Council by Great Britain..	343
Milan Decree by Napoleon.....	343
Affair of the <i>Leopard</i> and <i>Chesapeake</i> ..	344
The Embargo.....	345
Burr's expedition.....	340
Fulton's invention of the steamboat..	337
1809: The Non-Intercourse Act.....	345

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Jefferson as a party leader.
2. The life of Chief-Justice Marshall.
3. Burr's western schemes.
4. Geography of the Louisiana purchase.
5. Early steamboat routes.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—The Louisiana treaty, Jefferson's message on the Burr conspiracy, and the Embargo Act are in MacDonald's *Select Documents*, Nos. 24, 25, and 27. Extracts from the Berlin and Milan decrees and the English Orders in Council are in the University of Pennsylvania *Translations and Reprints*, vol. II., No. 2.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The best general account of this period is Henry Adams's *History of the United States*, covering the period 1800-1817. The biographies mentioned in connection with Chapter XI. should of course be consulted also. Barbé-Marbois's *History of Louisiana*, Parts II. and III., is important for the cession of 1803. On Burr's conspiracy see, besides Adams's *United States*, III., Parton's *Life and Times of Burr*, vol. II, chaps. 21-26, and Randall's *Jefferson*, vol. III., chap. 5. King's *Ohio* is a good brief history of the State. Sullivan's *Familiar Letters* is an interesting book of reminiscence.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—M. E. Seawell's *Decatur and Somers*; E. L. Bynner's *Zachary Phips*; J. K. Paulding's *John Bull* and *Brother Jonathan*; E. E. Hale's *Man without a Country*.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATIONS: 1809-1817

JAMES MADISON, Va., President. { GEO. CLINTON, N. Y., Vice-President, 1809-1813.
ELBRIDGE GERRY, Mass., Vice-President, 1813-1817.

348. The New President.—James Madison, of Virginia, the new President (§ 346), was one of the ablest leaders



JAMES MADISON.

of the Republican party. He had been a member of the Congress of the Confederation, of the Convention of 1787, the leader of the Republicans in Congress after 1789, and Secretary of State under Jefferson. He was a close friend of Jefferson, but more anxious for a strong national government than Jefferson had been.

349. The English Difficulties.—The troubles with Great Britain came to a head in Madison's first term. The Non-Intercourse Act came to

an end (1810) without having produced any effect. Con-

gress then declared that, if either Great Britain or France should revoke the offensive decrees, the Non-Intercourse Act would be revived against the other nation. Napoleon at once announced that he had revoked his decrees. This was a falsehood, for he enforced his decrees as severely as ever; but the falsehood served Napoleon's purpose by arraying the United States and Great Britain against one another. The United States revived the Non-Intercourse Act against Great Britain, and Great Britain became more overbearing than ever. Her war-vessels watched the whole eastern coast of the United States, and captured American merchantmen, often without giving any reason.¹

350. Tecumseh.—British officers were believed to be stirring up the Indians of the Northwest to war. The Indians, under a chief named Tecumseh, broke into hostilities, and were defeated by Governor W. H. Harrison in a battle at Tippecanoe, near the present town of Lafayette. Tecumseh and his warriors soon afterward entered the British army.

351. War with Great Britain.—Toward the end of Madison's first term the patience of the people became exhausted. When new Congressmen were to be chosen, the "submission men," who wished to avoid war, were defeated, and "war men" were elected. Madison himself, who still wished for peace, was forced to yield to the general feeling, and June 18, 1812, Congress declared war. The presidential election following was without incident, and resulted in the re-election of Madison, with Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, as Vice-President. The vote of Pennsylvania turned the scale in favor of Madison. The Republicans were now so completely in

¹ In 1811, the United States frigate *President* hailed the British vessel *Little Belt* off Cape Charles, and was answered by a cannon-shot. In the fight that followed, the British vessel was badly beaten.

control of the country that the Federalist opposition was powerless.¹

352. The Preparations for War against Great Britain cannot be said to have been very valuable. The British navy numbered about 1,000 vessels, many of them the most powerful warships afloat. The American navy numbered 12, none of them of large size, with a number of cheap, small, and useless craft called "gunboats." Some efforts had been made to increase the American army; but the men were undisciplined, and the officers were generally politicians, who knew nothing about war. The consequence was that the Americans were beaten in almost every land-battle, until the fighting generals got rid of the political officers and disciplined the men properly (§§ 364, 391). In the navy there were no political officers, and few failures; and most of the glory of the war was gained, to the great surprise of the people of both countries, by brilliant and successful sea-fights.

353. The Population of the United States in 1810 was 7,239,881; that of Great Britain and Ireland was nearly 19,000,000. The larger population of Great Britain was gathered into a space about as large as New York, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey together, so that it could act promptly and effectively; while that of the United States was scattered over a vast territory, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, nearly six times as long and ten times as wide as Great Britain. In what is now the State of Indiana there were but 25,000 persons, in Illinois 12,000, and in Michigan 5,000.

354. The Principal Theatre of War, on the boundary between Canada and the United States, was then a wilder-

¹ Madison had 128 electoral votes, and De Witt Clinton, of New York, 89. Clinton was a Republican, but received the support of the Federalists. The Federalist candidate for Vice-President was Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania.

ness. There was no considerable town in the whole western half of the State of New York, or on the lake shore; and the maps of the time do not show such places as Buffalo, Rochester, or Syracuse, even as villages. There were hardly any passable roads there or north and west of the Ohio River; and food for the troops was carried to them with great difficulty and at a cost sometimes of five or six times its original value. The present States of Alabama and Mississippi were still more destitute of inhabitants; and the traveller or army passing from the settled country around Nashville to New Orleans or Mobile went nearly all the way through a hostile Indian country.

355. The Dislike to the War was very general in New England, where the people believed that it was needless and wrong. Money was scarce in the United States, and, scarce as it was, most of it was in New England. The government attempted to carry on the war by raising loans. But those who supported the war had very little money, and those who had money to spare refused to lend it to support the war. The consequence was that the government was almost constantly in want of money, and toward the end of the war could hardly get enough money to arm, clothe, and feed its soldiers, or build war-vessels.

(3) *Failures in the North: 1812-14.*

356. Hull's Surrender began the list of failures in the North. The most important frontier town of the northwest was Detroit, in which William Hull, governor of Michigan Territory, resided. Immediately after the declaration of war he was ordered to cross the river and invade Canada. He did so, but retreated to Detroit as the British troops under General Brock advanced toward

him. Brock followed, besieged Detroit, and threatened to give his Indians liberty to kill unless the place was given up. After a siege of less than a week, Hull surrendered Detroit, and with it the whole country northwest of Ohio.¹

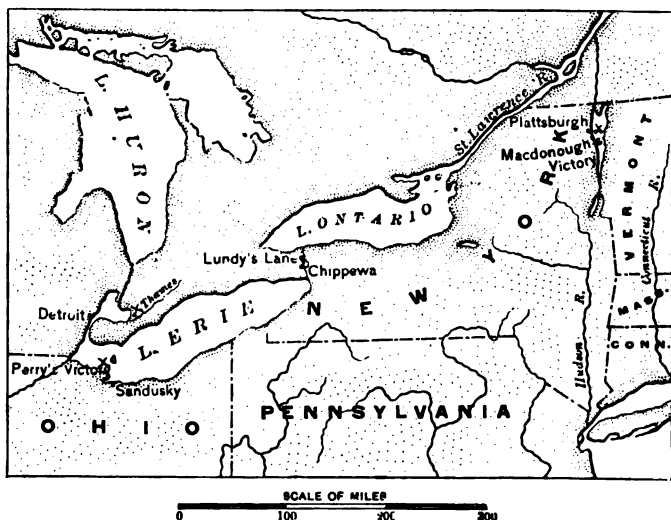
357. Invasion of Canada.—In the autumn of 1812, an attempt was made to invade Canada from Lewiston, New York, by crossing the Niagara River. While the braver part of the men crossed and assaulted the British, who were posted on Queenstown Heights, the rest could not be persuaded to leave Lewiston. The men who had crossed, 1,000 in number, were killed or captured. Another attempt was talked of, but the men were untrained and disobedient; the officers quarrelled with one another; and this attempt was given up. The commander-in-chief, General Dearborn, then collected the army at Plattsburgh, to attack Montreal. The principal event of this campaign was a sharp fight between two parts of the army, which mistook one another for the enemy; otherwise nothing was done.

358. In the West, Harrison (§ 350) was made commander-in-chief, and he exerted himself to the utmost to drive the British out of Detroit. His troops were Kentucky and Ohio volunteers, and they succeeded excellently in scattered fighting against the Indian villages; but they had not yet learned military obedience, and when they were formed into an army failed to accomplish anything during the year 1812.

359. The River Raisin.—As soon as the swamps and lakes of the Northwest were frozen over, in the early winter of 1813, Harrison renewed his efforts to drive the British out of Detroit. His advanced force, under General

¹ Hull was court-martialled and sentenced to be shot for cowardice, but was pardoned on account of his services in the Revolutionary war.

Winchester, reached the Raisin River, in southern Michigan, and was there attacked by the British General



Proctor. Winchester surrendered as Hull had done; and Proctor cruelly allowed his Indians to butcher the wounded prisoners.¹

360. Forts Meigs and Stephenson.—Harrison was now forced back, and took refuge in Fort Meigs, near the present town of Defiance. Here he was besieged by Proctor, in the spring of 1813. Twelve hundred Kentuckians relieved Harrison, though many of them were killed or captured in the effort; and Proctor retreated. Later in the year he again attacked Fort Meigs without success, and then turned to Fort Stephenson, near the present town of Sandusky. The fort was defended by a

¹ Most of the men massacred at the Raisin were Kentuckians, and from that time the Kentucky troops went into battle calling to one another, "Remember the river Raisin."

young officer named Croghan. He had but one cannon and a few men; but he used both so vigorously that Proctor was beaten off.

361. Battle of the Thames.—In September, 1813, Perry's capture of the British squadron (§ 381) gave the Americans command of Lake Erie. Harrison at once put his forces on Perry's vessels, and crossed directly from Ohio into Canada. He overtook the retreating British army, under Proctor, at the Thames River, and forced them into battle. After a sharp conflict, the British were completely defeated, and most of them were captured. The great Indian leader, Tecumseh, was killed. This battle ended the war in the northwest. Detroit and Michigan again fell into the hands of the Americans, and detachments were sent out which recaptured and held Peoria and other outlying forts.

362. In New York, early in 1813, Dearborn crossed the lake from Sackett's Harbor to Toronto (then called York), captured it, and burned the British supplies. He then returned to the American side, near Lewiston, and there crossed again into Canada. But his operations were badly managed; his troops were beaten in two small battles; and he returned to New York and resigned.¹

363. Chrysler's Farm.—Late in 1813, General Wilkinson, Dearborn's successor, took the American forces at Plattsburgh and Sackett's Harbor, and moved down the St. Lawrence River toward Montreal. One battle was fought, at Chrysler's Farm, on the Canada side, nearly opposite Ogdensburgh; but neither side could claim a victory. The expedition was then given up. The men

¹ During this invasion of Canada, the British attacked Sackett's Harbor, but were beaten off by General Jacob Brown, one of the new generals who were to achieve success the next year.

were not to blame for these failures: the officers were as inefficient as ever, and quarrelled continually.¹

364. Reorganization.—At the close of the year 1813, the American Government had learned something from the disasters on the northern frontier. As fast as possible, the political officers were weeded out, and the officers who had shown fighting qualities were promoted to their places. The chief command was given to General Jacob Brown, an officer who, without military education, had shown remarkable military abilities. Next to him were Scott, a young man of 27 (§ 534), and Ripley. The winter of 1813–14 was passed in training the men; but, even to do this much, it was necessary that Scott should translate a text-book of tactics from the French, for the American army had not yet had even a system of drill. The effects of the reorganization were evident in the following year. The men had confidence in themselves, in their training, and in their leaders, disasters ceased, and successes took their place (§ 391).

(4) *Successes on the Ocean.*

365. The American Navy had not been expected to do much in the war, and it had even been proposed to forbid its leaving port, for fear it might be captured at once by the British. But the British officers and men had become so accustomed to victory over all other nations that they were now careless in training and discipline; while the little American navy was in a state of perfect training, and eager to show what it could do. The consequence

¹ During this invasion of Canada, the American forces near Lewiston were attacked. They retreated disgracefully, again by the fault of the commanding officer, and left the whole of that part of the frontier open to the British, who burned and destroyed everywhere, in revenge for the attacks upon Canada.

was a succession of brilliant victories of American over British vessels, which threw the American people into a fever of rejoicing, and startled the rest of the world. It thoroughly alarmed Great Britain. Hitherto her naval officers had been dismissed from her service if they ran away from a vessel only a little superior in force. Now they received strict orders not to fight an American vessel unless on equal terms.

366. The First Cruise took place immediately after the declaration of war. The larger part of the little navy left New York and sailed through the northern Atlantic Ocean. Nothing was accomplished, except that one of the vessels, the *Essex*, Captain Porter, captured the British sloop-of-war *Alert*, after a short fight. Another vessel, the *Constitution*, Captain Hull, while sailing to New York to join in the cruise, fell in with a British fleet, and was hotly chased. She escaped into Boston after a chase of three days, in which Hull showed admirable skill and seamanship.¹

367. Constitution and Guerriere.—In August, the *Constitution* put to sea from Boston. While cruising in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, she fell in with the *Guerriere*, one of the vessels which had lately chased her. The two frigates were supposed to be about equally matched; but in half an hour the *Guerriere* was a helpless, mastless wreck, with 80 of her crew killed and wounded. The *Constitution* lost but 14 men, and was in good condition when the *Guerriere* surrendered. The British ship was so badly damaged that she was burned at once.

368. Remaining Events of 1812.—In October, the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jacob Jones, captured the British

¹ The *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides") was considered a lucky ship by sailors of the time. She was lucky, however, chiefly in having excellent officers, who chose good crews and handled her well.

brig *Frolic*, off Cape Hatteras. The two vessels were about equal in force, and the fighting on both sides was of the most desperate kind. When the *Wasp's* crew finally boarded the *Frolic*, they found on deck only the man at the wheel, and three wounded officers. The two vessels were so badly damaged that they were both captured by a British vessel, the *Poictiers*, which overtook them the same day. In the same month, the *United States*, Captain Decatur (§ 342), met the British frigate *Macedonian*, off the island of Maderia, on the African coast, and captured her after a battle of an hour and a half. The *Macedonian* was terribly shattered, but Decatur succeeded in bringing his prize into New London. Late in December, the *Constitution*, now commanded by Captain William Bainbridge, captured the *Java*, a British frigate of nearly equal force, off the eastern coast of Brazil. Again the British vessel was so badly damaged that it was necessary to destroy her.

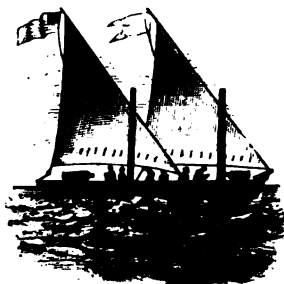
369. The Naval Victories of 1812 aroused an intense excitement in the United States. For twenty years Great Britain had been at war with almost every nation of Europe, and out of hundreds of battles between single ships of equal force she had lost but five vessels. It had come to be a common saying that, when France launched a vessel, she was only adding one to the British navy. In six months, however, the little American navy had captured five vessels, and had not lost a battle.¹ Votes of thanks, swords, gold medals, and silver plate were given to the successful officers; privateers (§ 240) put to

¹ In most of these battles there was a slight superiority on the side of the American vessel. But the difference was not such as British officers had been used to care about; and the remarkable loss of life on the British vessels showed that the accuracy of the American gunnery was the main reason for the victories.

sea from every important harbor; and Congress hurried to vote more money for the navy. There was not much money in the treasury, however, and the ships were not built until after the war.

370. Victories of 1813.—The year 1813 opened with another victory. In February, the *Hornet*, Captain Lawrence, captured the British brig *Peacock*, off the coast of British Guiana, in South America. The *Peacock* was so badly cut up that she sank immediately after the surrender, carrying down some of the men of both vessels. In September, the American brig *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig *Boxer*, off Portland, Maine. Both commanders were killed.

371. The Blockade.—Great Britain had become so anxious about the naval war that a large part of her fleet was transferred to the American coast, with strict orders that two or three ships should always sail in company, and that no single battle should be risked unless the force on both sides should be exactly equal. Whenever an American war-vessel entered a harbor, a number of British ships at once sailed thither and watched



AMERICAN GUNBOAT.

the entrance closely. It was not possible for the larger American vessels to get to sea except by accident, and most of the fighting, during the rest of the war, was done by the smaller vessels. All along the coast, there were almost daily battles between the little American "gunboats" (§ 352) and the boats of the British frigates, in which the most desperate courage was shown on both sides.

372. Defeats of 1813.—The first American defeat came in June. Captain Lawrence, of the *Hornet*, had been

promoted to the command of a larger ship, the *Chesapeake*. In this ship he sailed out from Boston harbor and engaged the British frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke. The vessels were equally matched. But this time the advantage of discipline was on the side of the British; Broke had carefully trained his men on the American system, while Lawrence had not had time to do so. Other things being equal, discipline decided the battle,



JAMES LAWRENCE.

and the *Chesapeake* surrendered. Lawrence was mortally wounded, and died during the battle; his last words were, "Don't give up the ship." The victory excited as extravagant rejoicings in England as those of the previous year had done in the United States. In August, rejoicing was increased by the capture of the American brig *Argus*, Captain Allen. The vessel had been cruising around Great Britain, capturing many merchantmen, and severely injuring British trade. The British brig *Pelican* was sent to search for her, and the two vessels met in the British Channel. The *Pelican* was slightly superior in force, but still more superior in discipline, and, after a battle of an hour, the *Argus* surrendered.

373. Cruise of the *Essex*.—In the spring of 1813, Captain Porter, in the *Essex*, rounded Cape Horn, and sailed into the Pacific Ocean, where no American frigate had ever been. Here he gave protection to American vessels, captured British whalers, and broke up the British whaling trade in the Pacific. He armed several of his prizes, so

that he had at one time a considerable fleet, and even paid his men out of the money which he captured. As all the countries around him were friendly to Great Britain, he seized the Marquesas Islands when he wished to refit his fleet, and then continued his cruise. Early the next year, the *Essex* entered the neutral harbor of Valparaiso; and here she was blockaded by two British vessels, the *Phæbe* and the *Cherub*, which had been sent to search for her. In March, while she was in a crippled condition from an accident, the two British vessels attacked her. They pelted her with shot from a distance, while she was unable to close with them; and, after losing more than half her men, the *Essex* surrendered. This was the most savage and desperate struggle of the war.¹

374. Events of 1814.—In addition to the capture of the *Essex*, there were three hard-fought battles in 1814, in all of which the American vessels were successful. In April, the *Peacock*, the name given to a new American war-vessel, took the *Epervier* off the east coast of Florida. During the summer, the *Wasp*, Captain Blakely, took the British brigs *Reindeer* and *Avon* in the British Channel. The *Wasp* was probably lost soon afterward in a storm, for she was never heard of after the following month. For some time after her loss, there was not an American war-vessel on the ocean.

375. Events of 1815.—In January, 1815, the United States frigate *President*, one of the larger American vessels, was captured by a British fleet off Long Island, while trying to get to sea from New York. In February, the *Constitution* (§ 367), Captain Stewart, after a very skilfully fought battle by moonlight, captured two British vessels, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*, off Lisbon. In March,

¹ In this case, the *Phæbe* alone was a heavier vessel than the *Essex*.

the *Hornet* captured the British brig *Penguin*, of equal force, near the Cape of Good Hope; and, soon afterward, the *Peacock* (§ 374) captured the weaker British brig *Nautilus*, near the island of Sumatra, in the Indian Ocean. This was the last capture of the war. Peace had already been made (§ 400), and the *Nautilus* was restored to the British.¹

376. Privateers were very active throughout the war. Many of them were as large and powerful as sloops-of-war, and more troublesome to the enemy, for they were built for speed. Sometimes they sailed in fleets of five or more; and, even when alone, they did not hesitate to fight British war-vessels of equal force, and were often successful. One of the most famous was the *Chasseur*, Captain Boyle, which for a long time in 1813 kept the British Channel clear of merchantmen, while she was too fast and too well managed to be caught by heavy war-vessels. She captured 80 vessels, 50 of which were of equal or superior force to her own; and her captain issued a burlesque proclamation, announcing that he had blockaded the British Islands, and forbidding all other nations to trade with them. In the following year, 1814, the *General Armstrong*, Captain Reid, while lying in a neutral harbor of the Azores Islands, was attacked by a fleet of boats from three British frigates, and fought them for a whole night before the ship was abandoned.

377. Naval Losses.—During the three years of the war, each nation lost about the same number of vessels, 1,700, including merchantment, privateers, and war-vessels; but in value the British losses were somewhat heavier. No

¹ There had been fifteen ship-duels during the war, of which the Americans lost but three, those of the *Chesapeake* (§ 372), the *Argus* (§ 372), and the *Essex* (§ 373). Such success gave the little American navy a world-wide reputation; and other nations began, for the first time, to respect the United States as a naval power.

other nation had succeeded in inflicting equal losses on Great Britain. For example, France, the principal enemy of Great Britain, had received about fifty times as much naval loss from the British as she had been able to inflict upon them.

(5) *Successes on the Lakes: 1813-14.*

378. The Northern Lakes, Champlain, Ontario, and Erie, were of importance in the war. Lake Champlain was a part of the main route to Quebec and Montreal; and Lakes Ontario and Erie were of great importance to the armies on their shores. The country around the lakes to the northwest of Lake Erie was unsettled and of comparatively little importance.

379. The Lake Navies were at first very small. The Americans had but one small vessel on Lake Ontario. The British had half a dozen vessels on each of the two larger lakes, but none of them was of any great force. Both sides at once began purchasing and arming merchant-vessels; but these were soon found to be almost useless for fighting purposes. The real contest was in building new war-vessels, and in this the Americans were successful, in spite of their disadvantages. Their side of the lakes was far more thinly settled than the Canadian side; and they had to bring nails, ropes, guns, men, and provisions—everything except timber—from the Atlantic coast, over terribly bad roads. Nevertheless they won complete victories on Lakes Erie and Champlain, and held their own on Lake Ontario.

380. Lake Ontario.—The operations on Lake Ontario, though very interesting to sailors, are of little interest in a history of the war. Commodore Chauncey commanded the American fleet, and Sir James Yeo the British; and neither was willing to risk a general battle if the other had

the least superiority. They took turns in controlling the lake. If either was superior in force, the other remained in port until he had built a new and stronger vessel. Then he took possession of the lake, and the other retired to a safe harbor and began building. Most of the credit was gained by the ship-builders on both sides, particularly by Henry Eckford, the American builder. When the war began, 16-gun vessels were the strongest on either side; when it ended, both sides were busily building 112-gun ships, for crews of 1,000 men each.¹

381. Lake Erie.—In the winter of 1812–13, while Proctor was superior to the Americans on land (§ 360), Captain Oliver H. Perry was sent to Lake Erie to form a navy. He worked with the greatest energy, and soon had five new vessels built at Erie. Two of his fleet, the *Lawrence* and the *Niagara*, were fairly large vessels; all the rest were small. Perry found the British fleet, under Captain Barclay, off Sandusky, and gave battle, September 10, 1813. His own ship, the *Law-*



OLIVER H. PERRY.

rence, at first bore the whole fire of the British fleet, and was completely disabled. Her sides were beaten in, and only fourteen of her whole crew were fit for duty. Perry

¹ The Ontario navies were used for transporting armies from one part of the lake shore to another. There were also many minor boat-fights; and on one occasion a general battle nearly took place.

then leaped into a rowboat, rowed to the *Niagara*, and in her attacked the exhausted British fleet. The conflict was short: the *Niagara* burst through the British line, firing right and left as she went, and in fifteen minutes the whole British fleet surrendered. The Americans then controlled the lake; the fleet carried the army over to Canada; and the battle of the Thames followed, and ended the war in the West.¹

382. Lake Champlain.—During the summer of 1814, while there was peace for a time in Europe, Great



THOMAS MACDONOUGH.

Britain sent fresh troops to Canada, for the purpose of invading northern New York, as Burgoyne had done (§ 218). Lake Champlain was a part of their route; and on the lake there was an American fleet under Commodore Macdonough. The British fleet was commanded by Commodore Downie. The naval battle, which was to decide the fate of the expedition, took place

September 11, 1814, in the harbor of Plattsburgh. The British fleet attacked at daybreak; and, after a desperate battle of over two hours, their four larger vessels surrendered and the others fled. The British army at once retreated, and the expedition was given up.²

¹ Perry's fleet, two large and seven small vessels, carried 54 guns and 416 men, and lost 123 men. Barclay's fleet, two large and four small vessels, carried 63 guns and 440 men, and lost 135 men. Perry's official despatch, announcing the victory, read: "We have met the enemy and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

² Macdonough's fleet of four war-vessels and ten gunboats carried 86 guns

(6) *Disasters on the Atlantic Coast.*

383. The Blockade of the Atlantic coast was enforced by British vessels from the beginning of the year 1813. At first they were inclined to spare the coast of New England, which they supposed to be friendly to Great Britain; but this policy was soon abandoned, and the whole coast was treated alike. Groups of war-vessels were stationed before each of the principal seaports, and others were continually in motion along the coast, from Halifax on the north to the West Indies. Early in 1813, they took possession of the mouth of Chesapeake Bay as a naval station, and the American Government ordered all the lights to be put out in the neighboring light-houses.

384. The Atlantic Coast was thus kept in a state of almost constant alarm, for the British vessels were continually landing men at exposed points to burn, plunder, and destroy. Private property was seized in great quantities everywhere, and the war seemed to the Americans to be mainly one of general robbery by the British navy. In 1813, the defenceless towns of Lewes, Havre de Grace, and Hampton (near Fortress Monroe) were bombarded, and Stonington, Conn., in 1814; and a number of smaller towns were burned or plundered. Attacks on New York and other larger cities were prevented only by fear of torpedoes, by means of which the Americans had nearly blown up one or two British ships which ventured too near New York. Fulton (§ 337) had also built at New

and 882 men, and lost about 200 men. Downie's fleet of four war vessels and twelve gunboats carried 92 guns and 937 men, and lost about 300 men. Macdonough's despatch, announcing the victory, read: "The Almighty has been pleased to grant us a signal victory on Lake Champlain, in the capture of one frigate, one brig, and two sloops-of-war of the enemy."

York a steam floating battery, the first of its kind, and the reports in regard to it helped to keep the British at a safe distance.

385. Maine, as far as the Penobscot River, was seized by the British in 1814 and held until the end of the war. This seizure excited great alarm in the rest of New England, for it was believed that the enemy intended to advance along the coast in the following year.

386. Washington.—In August, 1814, a new British fleet brought over an army of 5,000 men to the Chesapeake.



SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60
ATTACK ON WASHINGTON—COURSE
OF THE BRITISH.

They landed in Maryland, where the Patuxent River empties into the bay, and set out on a march of forty miles northwest to Washington. The American Government had utterly neglected to prepare for the defence of the capital, and it was now too late to do so. A feeble attempt to resist was made at Bladensburg, a village near the capital, but it was overpowered at once. The British then entered Washington and burned the Capitol and other public buildings.¹

387. Baltimore.—After attacking Washington, the British made a hasty retreat across the country, and embarked again on their fleet. They then sailed up the bay to attack Baltimore. But that city made a stout and successful resistance. The ships were repulsed in an attack on

¹ This act of the British has been excused by the burning of a public building in York, Canada, after its capture by the Americans (§ 362). But that act was not perpetrated by government order, as was the destruction of Washington.

Fort McHenry, and the army withdrew, after an unsuccessful battle at North Point, below the city, without accomplishing anything. Its commander, General Ross, was killed.¹

388. Admiral Cockburn, the British naval commander, then changed his headquarters to Cumberland Island, on the Georgia coast. From this point, until peace was made, he carried on a warfare of robbery, and then he retired from American soil with his plunder. Before this took place, a large part of his land force took part in the expedition to New Orleans and shared in its complete defeat (§ 399).

(7) *Dissatisfaction at Home.*

389. The New England States had never been satisfied with the war (§ 355); and their dissatisfaction was increased by its early failures. The American Government's management had not been very successful. At first, its commanders were not wisely selected. Its treasury was badly managed, so that it had little money and could with difficulty borrow, even at high interest. The national government seemed to be unable to check the British attacks on the coast; and the New England States came to believe that it did not care to afford them any protection. Finally, late in 1814, they sent delegates to meet at Hartford, in Connecticut, and consider the state of affairs.

390.* The Hartford Convention.—The Hartford Convention was composed of Federalist delegates from the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, with others chosen by local conventions in New Hampshire

¹ During the night attack on Fort McHenry, the national song, the "Star-Spangled Banner," was written by Francis S. Key, who had visited the British fleet, to obtain the release of some prisoners, and had been detained there.

and Vermont. Its meetings were held in secret, and it was supposed to be plotting to break up the Union and form a separate government in New England. It made a public report, in which it urged that the States be given the right to defend themselves without waiting for the Federal Government, and that certain portions of the Federal taxes collected in the States be assigned to the States for that purpose; and recommending such amendment of the Constitution as would restrict the right of Congress to lay embargoes or declare war. Commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut were sent to Washington to urge the adoption of the recommendations by Congress; but before they arrived the war had ended, and their mission came to nothing. The wide-spread impression that the proceedings of the Hartford Convention were of a treasonable nature bred great indignation against it, and helped much to put an end to the Federalist party soon after the war.

(8) *Successes in the North: 1814.*

391. The Reorganization of the American army in western New York was successfully effected during the winter of 1813-14 (§ 364). The excellent results of the work were seen in July, 1814, when the country was surprised and delighted by several victories won by the same army which had before been so unsuccessful. These victories, to be sure, came too late to have much effect on the war; but they showed that the former defeats were due to the generals, not to the men. They were as follows:

392. Chippewa and Lundy's Lane.—Early in July, the army, under command of Brown, Scott, and Ripley, crossed the Niagara River from Buffalo, and captured Fort Erie. Turning to the north, toward Lake Ontario,

it met the enemy (July 5), strongly intrenched behind a little stream called the Chippewa. The American troops were now well trained and well handled, and drove the British out of their intrenchments and up to the shore of Lake Ontario. The British, however, received reinforcements, and turned back to meet the pursuing Americans. The two armies met (July 25) at a place called Lundy's Lane, or Bridgewater, near Niagara Falls. The battle, which began at sunset and lasted until midnight, was one of the most stubbornly contested of the war. The British lost their commander, who was wounded and captured, and were finally driven some distance from the field. But the Americans had also lost heavily; Brown and Scott were wounded; and Ripley the next morning ordered his army to retreat to Fort Erie.



393. Fort Erie was besieged in September by a superior force of the enemy; but Brown, who had recovered, reassumed command of the army, and drove his besiegers back again beyond the Chippewa. Before the winter set in, the Americans retired to their own side of the Niagara River, and the treaty of peace soon put a stop to further hostilities.

(9) *Successes in the Southwest : 1813-15.*

394. The Southwest Territory, now the States of Alabama and Mississippi, was at this time almost entirely an Indian country. Its only important white settlements were Natchez and Mobile. Mobile was claimed by Spain as

within her territory of Florida; but the Americans had lately taken possession of it by force. North of this territory was the State of Tennessee, and southwest of it was New Orleans, the principal city of Louisiana. The Creeks were the principal Indian tribe of the southwest, and from the outbreak of the war they took sides against the United States.

395. Fort Mims.—Early in 1813, the Tennessee militia were called out to keep the Indians quiet; and, in order to watch the Indian country from the west side, they marched to Natchez under General Andrew Jackson (§ 438). But the government believed that the Indians intended to remain at peace, and the Tennessee troops were dismissed, to the great surprise and anger of Jackson. In August, 1813, a shocking event showed that the Creeks did not intend to remain at peace. About 500 men, women, and children had taken refuge in Fort Mims, near Mobile; and the Creeks surprised the fort, captured it, and massacred nearly all who were in it.

396. The Creek War.—The Tennessee troops were again called out, under command of Jackson. He marched into the Indian country, drove the Creeks from one stronghold to another, and finally broke their power in a great battle at Tohopeka, or Horseshoe Bend, on the Tallapoosa River, in eastern Alabama. Eight hundred of the Creeks were killed, and the tribe gave up most of its territory. This series of victories made Jackson the leading general of the southwest.

397. Peace in Europe had been attained by Great Britain in 1814. All the other leading nations of Europe united with her in compelling Napoleon to leave France and retire to the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean. Great Britain was thus left at liberty to direct all her energies toward the United States. One force went to Canada

(§ 382); another was sent to attack Washington (§ 386); but the main body was sent on a great expedition against New Orleans, with the design of retaining that city and Louisiana when peace should be made.

398. The Defence of the Southwest was entrusted to Jackson, who worked with extraordinary energy to make it secure. He raised

volunteers in Tennessee, seized the Spanish town of Pensacola, which had given assistance to the British, and then hurried to fortify New Orleans before the arrival of the British. A few miles below the city, where there was only a narrow passage between an impassable swamp



SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60
EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS.

River, he put up a line of intrenchments, and held his ground while the riflemen of Kentucky and Tennessee hurried down the river to his assistance.

399. The Battle of New Orleans.—The British expedition, under Sir Edward Pakenham, entered Lake Borgne in December, captured the American gunboats, and landed below Jackson's works. The British numbered 12,000, and Jackson's army 6,000; but the British were trained and veteran troops, while the Americans were almost as undisciplined as those at Bunker Hill. For a few weeks there were night-attacks and skirmishes, in

which neither party had the advantage. January 8, 1815, the whole British line moved forward, in a dense fog, to attack Jackson's works. Again, as at Bunker Hill, there was a steady silence in the fortifications until the British were so near that the fire of the riflemen was murderous. Whole platoons of the attacking troops fell in their tracks, as if levelled by one discharge. Within twenty-five minutes the whole British line was in full retreat, having lost its commander and 2,500 men. The American loss was 8 killed and 13 wounded. A few days afterward, the British retired to their ships, and set sail for the West Indies. Peace had already been made, though neither army knew it.

(10) *Peace.*

400. Peace Negotiations had been going on almost from the beginning of the war. In 1813, Russia had offered to mediate between Great Britain and the United States; that is, to assist, as a friend of both parties, in arranging terms of peace; but Great Britain declined the offer. Soon after, Great Britain expressed its willingness to deal directly with the United States; and President Madison appointed five commissioners to arrange a treaty. They met the British commissioners at Ghent, a city of Belgium, and, after long negotiations, agreed upon a treaty of peace late in 1814 (December 24). This was ratified by the United States and put a stop to the war. Peace had thus been agreed upon before the battle of New Orleans was fought, but there was then no ocean telegraph to bring the news in time to avoid the battle.

401. The Treaty of Peace settled nothing as to the Orders in Council or the impressment of seamen, which had caused the war (§ 344). These matters, however,

were now of very little importance. Napoleon had been conquered; and the general peace in the world, and the ability shown by the American navy during the war, made it very unlikely that any such difficulties would occur again. After the war, the growing power of the United States made these old questions of still less importance; and Great Britain never again attempted to enforce her Orders in Council, or her asserted rights of search and impressment.¹

402. The News travelled slowly in 1815. Jackson's victory of January 8 was not known at Washington until February 4, when it made the people wild with joy. The news of the treaty of peace reached New York a week later, and was received with equal pleasure. It was welcome to every one, for the affairs of the country were in very bad condition. There was little commerce, or business of any kind; and poverty and distress were general. Farmers had not been able to sell their crops; the price of all things had risen; and there was little money in the country with which to buy. All classes hoped and believed that prosperity would return with peace.

403. Results of the War.—The war had been a terrible experience for the American people: it had brought poverty, distress, defeats as well as victories, and much dissension. (But it taught the people the importance of a strong national government.) They saw that their defeats had come from the weakness of the Federal Government, and that it was the success of the Federal Government's navy which had for the first time gained them respect abroad. The Republicans had wished to keep the Federal

¹ In 1861, Great Britain nearly went to war with the United States because an American naval officer exercised the old right of search (§ 662). In this case, the United States Government maintained the principle of the War of 1812, and refused to support the action of the naval officer.

Government relatively weak, that the States might not be forced to do anything which they should not wish to do; but this looked very differently when the Republicans began to fear that the New England States would attempt to leave the Union. From this time, the Federal Government was as dear to the Republicans as it had been to the Federalists; so that we may fairly say that it was the war of 1812 which gave the nation respect at home as well as abroad (§ 328).

404. The Barbary States (§ 341), during the war, had not only allowed the British to capture American vessels in their harbors, but had even made some captures themselves. In 1815, Decatur, with a fleet, was sent to demand satisfaction from Algiers. Its frightened ruler came on board Decatur's ship and signed a treaty by which he promised to pay for the American ships illegally captured, to make no more captures, and to ask no more money for keeping the peace. Decatur's fleet then set sail for Tripoli and Tunis, and forced them to agree to the same terms. There has been no further trouble with the Barbary pirates.

405. Settlements were now increasing throughout the West. The defeat of the Creeks (§ 396) had opened up the southwest to settlement, and the future States of Alabama and Mississippi were already marked out. In the northwest, two States, Ohio and Indiana, had been formed, and the two future States of Illinois and Michigan were marked out in the form of Territories. Louisiana was admitted as a State in 1812, and Indiana in 1816. The settlement of the whole West was being greatly hastened by the invention of the steamboat, which had now begun to be common on Western rivers. When the war broke out, steamboats were running on the Hudson, Raritan, Delaware, Ohio, and St. Lawrence rivers, and

on Lake Champlain; and a steam ferryboat had begun to take the place of the clumsy scows which ran between New York and Brooklyn. In 1816, a steamboat ascended the Mississippi and Ohio to Louisville. The war had also increased the settlement of western New York, and Buffalo and Rochester soon became important places.

406. Commerce and Business revived as soon as the war ended. Farmers found a market for their crops; wealth increased apace; every interest prospered except manufactures. Foreign-manufactured goods had been shut out of the country during the war; and many Americans had spent much money in building factories. When peace was made, English factories sent their goods to the United States, and sold them cheaper than the American factories could afford to. The American owners were thus compelled either to close their factories, or to sell their goods at a loss. Their difficulties had a great influence on public affairs for many years to come, for the American manufacturers were urgent that the tariff of duties on imports should be made high enough to shut out the foreign goods (§ 425).

407. The National Debt of the United States was now about \$127,000,000, of which about \$80,000,000 was the cost of the war. But the government was no longer pressed for money. From 1814 to 1815, exports rose from \$7,000,000 to \$53,000,000; imports, from \$13,000,000 to \$113,000,000; and duties paid to the government, from \$4,000,000 to \$38,000,000.

408. The National Bank, which had been chartered in 1791 (§ 300), came to an end in 1811. In 1816, Congress chartered a new National Bank, on about the same plan, for twenty years. The public money was to be deposited in it, or in its branches, unless the Secretary of

the Treasury should at any time order it to be deposited elsewhere (§ 469).

409. Presidential Election.—It was in this period that the Federalist party ceased to be a factor of importance in national politics. The party had performed an inestimable service in the organization of the government under Washington; but its opposition to the War of 1812 had alienated young men, and cost it popular support. There was but one party left, the Republican, or, as it was coming to be called, the Democratic party. The Republicans, accordingly, had little opposition in electing a successor to Madison. James Monroe, of Virginia, was chosen President (1816). He represented still more than Madison the new feelings which had grown out of the war, and the few remaining Federalists soon came to like him. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, was chosen Vice-President. He had been Governor of his State during the war, and had supported the Federal Government vigorously.¹

410. The Leading Events of Madison's administrations were as follows:

1809-13: Madison's First Term.....	§ 348
1810: End of the Non-Intercourse Law....	349
1811: The <i>President</i> and <i>Little Bell</i>	349
Battle of Tippecanoe (November 7)...	350
1812: Admission of Louisiana.....	405
War declared against Great Britain	
(June 18).....	351
The <i>Essex</i> takes the <i>Alert</i> (August 13)...	366
Hull's surrender (August 16).....	356
The <i>Constitution</i> takes the <i>Guerriere</i>	
(Aug. 19).....	367
Battle of Queenstown Heights (October 13).....	357

¹ The Federalist candidates were Rufus King, of New York, for President, and various others for Vice-President. They received 34 out of 221 electoral votes.

1812:	The <i>Wasp</i> takes the <i>Frolic</i> (October 18) §	368
	The <i>United States</i> takes the <i>Macedonian</i> (Oct. 25).....	368
	The <i>Constitution</i> takes the <i>Java</i> (Dec- ember 29).	368
1813:	Massacre at the Raisin River (Jan- uary 22).....	359
	The <i>Hornet</i> takes the <i>Peacock</i> (Feb- ruary 24).....	370
	Cruise of the <i>Essex</i> in the Pacific....	373
1813:	Capture of York (April 27).....	362
	Siege of Fort Meigs (May 1).....	360
	The <i>Chesapeake</i> taken by the <i>Shannon</i> (June 1).....	372
	Siege of Fort Stephenson (August 2).	361
	The <i>Argus</i> taken by the <i>Pelican</i> (August 14).....	372
	Massacre at Fort Mims (August 30)..	395
	The <i>Enterprise</i> takes the <i>Boxer</i> (Sep- tember 5).....	370
	Perry's victory on Lake Erie (Septem- ber 10).....	381
	Battle of the Thames (October 5)....	361
1814:	Battle of Tohopeka, Ala. (March 27)	396
	The <i>Essex</i> taken by the <i>Phæbe</i> and the <i>Cherub</i> (March 28).....	373
	The <i>Peacock</i> takes the <i>Épervier</i> (April 29).....	374
	The <i>Wasp</i> takes the <i>Reindeer</i> (June 28).	374
	Capture of Fort Erie (July 3).....	392
	Battle of Chippewa (July 5).....	392
	Battle of Lundy's Lane (July 25)....	392
	Burning of Washington (August 24).	386
	The <i>Wasp</i> takes the <i>Avon</i> (September 1)	374
	Macdonough's victory on Lake Cham- plain (September 11).....	382
	Attack on Fort McHenry (September 13).....	387
	Battle of Fort Erie (September 17)...	393
	Jackson takes Pensacola (November 7)	398
	Hartford Convention (December 15)..	390
	Treaty of peace signed (December 24)	400

1815: Battle of New Orleans (January 8)...	\$ 399
The <i>President</i> taken by a British fleet (Jan. 15).....	375
The <i>Constitution</i> takes the <i>Cyane</i> and the <i>Levant</i> (February 20).....	375
The <i>Hornet</i> takes the <i>Penguin</i> (March 23).....	375
Decatur brings Algiers to terms (June 28).....	404
The <i>Peacock</i> takes the <i>Nautilus</i> (June 30).....	375
1816: National Bank chartered.....	408
Admission of Indiana.....	405

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Causes of the war of 1812.
2. The Henry documents.
3. The Hartford Convention.
4. National receipts and expenditures under Jefferson and Madison.
5. Early settlement of Indiana.
6. The Cumberland road.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Documents* gives the Non-Intercourse Act (No. 28), Madison's war message (No. 29) and the declaration of war (No. 30), the treaty of Ghent (No. 31), the recommendations of the Hartford Convention (No. 32), and the National Bank Act (No. 33). *Niles's Weekly Register*, begun in 1811, contains a great amount of valuable material, but ill arranged and difficult to use.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The best general account, to 1817, is still Henry Adams's *History of the United States*. The *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams now become of importance, as do also, among biographies, Morse's *John Quincy Adams*, Schurz's *Henry Clay*, Sumner's *Jackson*, Gilman's *Monroe*, and McLaughlin's *Lewis Cass*. Military events are treated in Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* and Ingersoll's *Historical Sketch of the Second War*. For naval events, see especially Maclay's *History of the United States Navy*,

Roosevelt's *Naval War of 1812*, and Coggeshall's *History of American Privateers*. On the opposition to the war in New England, and the Hartford Convention, see Lodge's *George Cabot*, chaps. 11-13; Barry's *Massachusetts*, vol. III., pp. 407-422; Quincy's *Josiah Quincy*; Lodge's *Webster*; Curtis's *Webster*; and Ormsby's *History of the Whig Party*. Dunn's *Indiana* treats the history of that State with particular reference to the slavery struggle.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE. — Irving's *Astoria* and *Captain Bonneville*; D. G. Mitchell's *Doctor Johns*; Holmes's *Old Ironsides*.

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL READJUSTMENT

(I) MONROE'S ADMINISTRATIONS: 1817-25

JAMES MONROE, Va., President. DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, N. Y., Vice-President.

411. The New President.—President Monroe was not a very able party leader, but he was probably for that



JAMES MONROE.

reason a better President for his time. He had been a Revolutionary officer, Governor of Virginia, the Minister to France when Louisiana was bought (§ 334), and Secretary of War; so that he was not an unknown man. But the new feeling of national strength made it good that the people should cease to do this or that simply because they loved and admired Hamilton or Jefferson or any other party leader, and should learn to support or

oppose measures according to their probable influence on the welfare of the country. Monroe was a safe President,

who was not likely to do rash or foolish things; but people did not admire him or dislike him enough to have their attention called off from public affairs.

412. The New Leaders.—At the same time, new men were coming into public life. Monroe's Cabinet had several very able members. John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, the son of John Adams, of Massachusetts, was one of the ablest. Another was John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, the Secretary of War, one of the strongest men in argument that the country has yet produced. Another was William H. Crawford, of Georgia, the Secretary of the Treasury, a hard worker, and much liked at the South. There were other strong men outside of the Cabinet. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, the leader of the House of Representatives, was a man of great eloquence, ingenious in contriving ways to help Congress out of difficulties, and a man whom other men were apt to like very strongly; and he was popular, further, because he had done a great deal to rouse the people to resist Great Britain in the War of 1812. Daniel Webster, at first of New Hampshire and afterwards of Massachusetts, had already shown that he was even a more eloquent speaker than Clay. Finally, outside of both Cabinet and Congress, was Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, who had won the battle of New Orleans (§ 399). His case was different from that of all the others. They had risen in public life by education or by showing that they had some form of ability peculiar to themselves. He had risen by showing that he was prompt and vigorous in dealing with unexpected difficulties, and by the belief of a great many that he really cared more for the interests of the people than did other leaders of his time.

413. Era of Good Feeling.—During Monroe's first term, the Federalist party entirely disappeared from politics.

Its members either ceased voting or called themselves Republicans. This period is therefore often called "the era of good feeling." At the end of Monroe's first term, the Republicans were successful in the Presidential election of 1820 without any opposition, and Monroe and Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice-President. But the vote was not quite unanimous. One electoral vote was cast against Monroe, and fourteen against Tompkins, so that they should not have the unanimous vote which had been given to no candidate except Washington.

414. Florida was added to the territory of the United States during this administration. It had been a Spanish possession, and its governors had given the United States much trouble during the war (§ 398). After the close of the war, the Seminole Indians of Florida, aided by the Spaniards, kept up hostilities against the whites of Georgia and Alabama. Jackson, who still commanded there, soon lost all patience, and marched his army into Florida. He seized Pensacola, and hanged two British subjects, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, whom he accused of leading the Seminoles. Spain protested, and Pensacola was given back. But Florida was so evidently at the mercy of the United States that Spain agreed to sell it for about \$5,000,000. The treaty was made in 1819, though it was not ratified until 1821.

415. Negro Slavery.—The admission of Missouri brought about the first thoroughly angry discussion of slavery. Negro slavery had in 1820 almost entirely disappeared from the old States north of Virginia (§ 188); and it had been forbidden from the beginning in the new States north of the Ohio (§ 274). In the southern States, however, it showed no signs of disappearance, for the cotton-gin had made it profitable (§ 316); and people in general

had not yet come to see how much it was really injuring the industry of the country. The first settlers in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi naturally took their slaves with them; and when these States were admitted, they came in as slave States. Slavery existed in the Territory of Louisiana when it was bought from France; Congress did nothing to stop it; and thus Louisiana became a slave State. The number of slaves in the rest of the Territory grew steadily; and when Missouri applied for admission, it was as a slave State.

416. Two Sections had thus been formed in the United States, the North forbidding slavery, the South encouraging it. This one difference not only changed the inner life of the two sections, but made them opponents of one another. Many of the laws passed by Congress for the whole country would have different effects in the different sections; in consequence, one section or the other was likely to be aggrieved, no matter what shape the law finally took. As each section felt that it had peculiar needs of its own, each naturally sought to control Congress. Most new settlers preferred the free States, where work would not be dishonorable; and so the free States increased in population more rapidly than the slave States. The States are represented in the House of Representatives according to their population (§ 281), so that the growing free States would always control that part of Congress. In the Senate, each State has an equal vote; and a new slave State, even with a smaller population, would have as large a vote as a free State. The only opportunity of the South, then, was in the Senate, and it took care to balance each new free State by bringing in a new slave State at about the same time.

417. The Case of Missouri.—There was no difficulty as long as the new States were formed from the Territory

east of the Mississippi, where slavery had already been either forbidden or permitted. When, however, Missouri applied for admission as a slave State, there was difficulty at once, for each section wanted the new State. It was necessary that both Houses of Congress should agree to admit it. The House of Representatives, which the free States controlled, declared that Missouri should not come in as a slave State; that it had never been intended, when the Constitution was framed, that slavery should spread beyond the Mississippi, or new slave States be admitted; and that Congress ought now to refuse to admit Missouri save as a free State. In the Senate, where the South was in control, it was insisted that the Constitution had left the control of slavery to the States; that Missouri had chosen to be a slave State; and that, in consequence, Congress had no right to interfere in the matter. For a time nothing could be done, the two Houses being unable to agree, and the feeling between the representatives of the two sections becoming constantly more bitter.

418. The Missouri Compromise.—After two years of heated discussion, the difficulty was settled, in 1820, by the Missouri Compromise. Missouri was to be admitted as a slave State, thus granting the demand of the South; but slavery was to be forever prohibited in the remainder of the Louisiana purchase, north of the southern boundary of Missouri (latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$). On the other hand, Maine, which had applied for admission at about the same time, was admitted as a free State. Nothing was said of the territory south of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$, but it was understood that slavery would continue to exist there, as heretofore. Under this compromise, Missouri was admitted to the Union in 1821. The Missouri Compromise was mainly the work of Clay, and afforded a practical

settlement of the territorial side of the slavery question for about thirty years.

419.* Other New States.—Three other new States were admitted during Monroe's administrations. Mississippi (1817) was a part of the territory originally claimed by Georgia, as was also Alabama (1819). Both of these were slave States. Illinois (1818), the third State formed from the Northwest Territory, came into the Union subject to the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, without slavery. The number of States was now twenty-four.

420. The Monroe Doctrine.—The former Spanish colonies in Mexico and South America had rebelled and become independent. Spain was too weak to make them submit, but there were strong suspicions that some of the other governments of Europe meant to help Spain. President Monroe therefore declared in a message to Congress, in 1823, that the United States had no intention of interfering with any war in Europe, or with any recognized European colonies in America; but that no more European colonies should be planted in America; and that the United States would not view with indifference "an attempt by any nation of Europe to reduce an independent nation of North or South America to the condition of a colony." This very important principle is called the Monroe Doctrine, and has always since been the declared policy of the United States in foreign affairs.

421. La Fayette (§ 214) was invited to pay a visit to the United States in 1824. He came, an old man of 68, to a country that had changed wonderfully since he had seen it in his youth. He had left it a weak, thinly settled fringe of settlements along the Atlantic coast, too poor to pay its troops. He found it a nation with a population of 9,633,822 in 1820 (§ 353), with States beyond the Mississippi, with a powerful and successful navy, and the

prospect of a still more wonderful future. In his youth he might have visited all the States without leaving salt water; now he had to travel more than a thousand miles away from the Atlantic to reach some of them. In France, he had just been treated disrespectfully and unkindly by his own government; and Congress and the country made it a point to show how grateful the American people were to him. As he passed up New York Bay, Fort La Fayette saluted him; processions, parades, and greetings of every sort met him wherever he went; and the whole country seemed to stop its work for the moment to give him a welcome such as he had never expected. After a visit of more than a year as the guest of the nation, he was sent back to France in a United States frigate, the *Brandywine*, which had just been launched and named in his honor, and with a present from the United States of two hundred thousand dollars in money, and a township of public lands.

422. The Condition of the Country was not greatly changed, though it was just on the verge of great changes. One important invention had been introduced from England: lighting by gas was begun in 1822, and soon became common. The use of steamboats had made river-navigation as easy as at present, but travelling by land was as difficult as ever. Little could be done to improve it until steam-railroads were introduced (§ 443); but in the mean time Congress and the States voted money freely for the improvement of roads and the construction of canals. New York led the way in this work.

423. The National Road.—One of the difficulties which had done most to keep the country poor was the exceeding badness of the roads. Most of them were made by scraping up a little dirt from the sides of the road into the middle of it; in dry weather they were dusty, and in wet

weather they became mud-holes, through which wagons or stages could scarcely travel. All through this period, Congress was appropriating money for the construction of a National Road, carefully made, with hard surface, easy grades and good bridges, running westward from Cumberland, in northwestern Maryland. It was meant in part for the convenience of emigrants, and in part for the purpose of showing the people how a good road ought to be made. It was gradually extended as far as Indiana, when the introduction of the railroad made it needless to build it any farther. Many other roads were built or improved by the United States during this period.

424. The Erie Canal.—Freight can be carried more cheaply by canal than by ordinary roads, and there was a strong desire for more canals. The largest, the Erie Canal, was finished (1825) by the State of New York, after eight years of work, and strong opposition from those who thought it a waste of money. De Witt Clinton had carried it through, and his opponents called it "Clinton's Big Ditch." But when it was found that it could carry freight from Buffalo to New York for one-tenth of the amount formerly paid, and that a stream of trade from the Great Lakes was pouring through the new canal to New York City, opposition ceased, and other States began the construction of canals, some of which received national aid.

425. Protective and Revenue Tariffs.—Much of the expense of the Federal Government is met by taxes, or duties, laid on imports; and as to the rates of such duties there are two opinions. (1) Those who believe in *Protection* wish the duties on imports, especially on manufactured articles, to be made high, so that the importer, after paying the duties, shall be compelled to charge a higher price for his goods. Then, they argue, American

manufacturers will be able to sell their goods at a profit; and the workmen employed in their manufactories will get good wages, and will buy the productions of the farmers of the country, so that all will prosper together. A list of duties arranged on this principle is called a *Protective Tariff*, for it is meant to protect, and thereby increase, home manufactures. (2) Opposed to Protection is what is commonly called *Free Trade*; but this does not mean that there are to be no taxes on imports. Those who support it insist that the duties should be made only high enough to provide for the expenses of the government; that, if Protection is profitable, it is only for the few manufacturers who are interested, not for their workmen or the country; that the country will produce naturally what it can make the most money out of; and that, if we use taxation to bring about productions which would not come naturally, we are making all the people pay part of their number for engaging in unprofitable employments. A list of duties which pays no attention to Protection is called a *Revenue Tariff*, since it is meant only to provide revenue for the government.

426. The Tariff of 1824.—The Protectionist policy began to increase in favor with the people during this period. They remembered their experience in the war, when they had no manufactories, and British ships blockaded their coast, so that they could bring little from abroad; and they were willing to undertake protection in order to meet the complaints of American manufacturers (§ 406). Congress adopted a Protective Tariff in 1824, and the struggle between the advocates of the two policies began.

427. The Presidential Election in 1824 resulted in confusion, for all the candidates and all the voters claimed to be Republicans. For Vice-President, Calhoun was

generally supported and was elected. There were four candidates for President, John Quincy Adams (§ 412), Jackson (§ 412), William H. Crawford, of Georgia, and Clay. When the votes of the electors were counted, it was found that none of the four had a majority of the whole number. The House of Representatives had then to choose a President from the highest three names on the list, Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. When the House of Representatives came to choose, as it was required to do by the Constitution, the friends of Clay voted for Adams, and he was elected President.¹



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

(II) JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION: 1825-9

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Mass., President. JOHN C. CALHOUN, S. C., Vice-President.

428.* The President.—John Quincy Adams, son of John Adams, had been in public life from his youth. From 1794 to 1801, he was minister to the Netherlands and

¹ There were 99 electoral votes for Jackson, 84 for Adams, 41 for Crawford, and 37 for Clay. This election is often called the "scrub-race for the Presidency." Before the next election, parties had again been formed, and there were but two sets of candidates.

to Prussia. From 1803 to 1808, he was a United States senator, changing from a Federalist to a Democrat. He was then minister to Russia, 1809-1817, and Secretary of State under Monroe.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

He was a man of upright character, great ability, and high motives; but he had something of his father's inability to make friends, and was never regarded with popular favor. The most remarkable part of his career comes after 1831; when, as a member of the House of Representatives, he championed the antislavery cause.

429. The Railroad.—In internal affairs this administration was marked by an uncommon prosperity; incomes, both those of the government and of private persons, rapidly increased, and the public debt began to decrease. The country seemed to be gathering strength for the enormous changes which it was to experience during the next few years. For it was during this administration that England saw the invention of the railroad locomotive, one of the greatest events of modern times, which was to show some of its most wonderful effects in the United States. The use of wooden or iron rails for cars drawn by horses had been known in England for nearly 200 years; and many Englishmen and Americans had tried to use steam instead of horses. In England, early in the century, Trevithick had made a locomotive,

but it could only move slowly. A short railroad, with clumsy locomotives, was opened in England in 1825. In 1829, George Stephenson, an Englishman, exhibited his locomotive, "The Rocket," which moved at the rate of 30 miles an hour, and the modern railroad system began. In the United States, where men had for years been trying to improve the useless old roads, the first idea of the railroad was soon tried. In 1827, two short lines of rails were laid at Quincy, near Boston, and at Albany; and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was chartered in Maryland, though it was then intended to use horses upon all these. In 1828, the first trip with an English locomotive was made on a Pennsylvania railroad, near Mauch Chunk; and a new railroad, expressly for steam, was chartered in South Carolina, to run westward from Charleston. In the following administration, the new system of Stephenson was fully introduced into the United States (§ 443).

430. Settlement had now seized firmly upon most of the country east of the Mississippi. Treaties had been made by the government with each Indian tribe, by which the Indians sold their lands to the government for settlement, and removed beyond the Mississippi. To this there were two exceptions. In the northwest, the territory covered by the present State of Wisconsin was not yet needed by settlers; and in the southwest, some of the Georgia and Alabama Indians refused to sell their lands for settlement.

431. The Cherokees were now the most powerful tribe of Indians in Georgia and Alabama, since the Creeks had been overthrown by Jackson (§ 396). They were intelligent and educated; they had churches, schools, and newspapers of their own; and they refused to remove across the Mississippi. Finally, the State of Georgia became impatient, and decided to force the Indians to go. Presi-

dent Adams, in 1827, interfered to protect the Indians, but Georgia declared its intention to resist the Federal Government, if necessary, by force. The State was at last successful in compelling the Cherokees to remove.¹

432. Jefferson and John Adams died almost together, July 4, 1826, each believing that the other was left alive. The day of their death was a coincidence so remarkable as to attract the attention of the whole country. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, of which Jefferson was the author and Adams the principal supporter (§ 206). The two had quarrelled in 1801, when Jefferson succeeded Adams as President, but they became close friends again afterward.

433. Political Contest was renewed during this administration. The "era of good feeling" (§ 413) came to an end, and political excitement rose higher than it had done for thirty years before. Most of it came from the policy of high tariffs and internal improvements, which had been begun under Monroe (§ 422).

434. The American System.—Clay had become Adams's Secretary of State, and the two supported warmly the system already begun in Congress. In 1828, a new tariff of still higher duties was adopted; and the revenue which came from it was spent in improving roads, constructing canals, and deepening rivers and harbors. This union of a protective tariff and internal improvements was known as the "American System"; and it soon afterward became the foundation of the new Whig party, of which Clay was the leader (§ 479).

435. The Two Sections, North and South (§ 416), had grown to be very different in many respects, and it was by this time as difficult for one Congress to make laws to

¹ This was not accomplished until 1835, when the Federal Government induced the Indians to make a treaty and sell their lands (§ 463).

suit them both as it had been for the British Parliament to make laws to suit both Great Britain and the colonies. This was especially the case in regard to the American System, which undertook to encourage manufactures by increasing the duties on foreign goods. Whatever profit was derived from it by factories went to the North, where all the factories were located. Labor in the South was performed by negro slaves; and men who worked only because they were forced to do so were of no use in manufacturing (§ 618).



HENRY CLAY.

436. The Complaint of the South was, therefore, that its people were made to pay higher prices for goods imported from abroad, as well as for those produced at home, in order to give profits to Northern manufacturers. The supporters of the American System answered that the Southern cotton-planters received their share of the profits by having a nearer market and better prices for their cotton. But the South refused to be convinced, and considered its people unfairly treated. When the tariff duties were increased in 1828, the legislatures of several Southern States protested against the act as unfair and unconstitutional; and in the Presidential election of the same year the whole electoral vote of the South was thrown against Adams.

437. Two Parties were thus formed out of the old party whose members had called themselves either Republicans or Democrats since about 1812. Those led by Adams and Clay, who supported the American System, now began to call themselves National Republicans;¹ and their opponents, who disliked the American System, began to call themselves Democrats. Toward the end of this administration, the division had extended so far that the two parts of the former Republican party were two distinct parties.

438. The Presidential Election in 1828 was contested by the two new parties, and was one of great excitement. The National Republicans supported Adams and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, for President and Vice-President; while the Democrats, or "Jackson men" as they were often called, supported Jackson and Calhoun. There were many circumstances in Jackson's favor, in addition to the vote of the whole South for him (§ 436). He was very much liked by the people everywhere; his military services, particularly at New Orleans, helped him greatly; and many thought that he ought fairly to have been chosen President in 1824 by the House of Representatives, since he then had a larger electoral vote than Adams (§ 427, note). For these and other reasons, the Democrats were successful, and Jackson and Calhoun were elected. They received 178 electoral votes, to 83 for their opponents.

439. John Quincy Adams, like his father, was thus defeated after a single term of office; and these two, father and son, are the only one-term Presidents in the first half-century after 1789. The tariff was not the chief reason for the son's defeat. In the case of both father

¹ During the following administration, the National Republicans took the name of the Whig party (§ 479).

and son, the defeat came very largely from the rise of new ideas. In 1800, the old colonial ideas of "strong government" were overthrown. In 1828, the change of government was made mainly because the people had no liking for Adams's administration, even though they had no great reason to dislike it: the government was changed because the people had changed.

440. The Leading Events of the administrations of Monroe and John Quincy Adams were as follows:

1817-21: Monroe's First Term.....	\$ 411
1817: Admission of Mississippi.....	419
1818: Admission of Illinois.....	419
Jackson seizes Pensacola.....	414
1819: Admission of Alabama.....	419
Treaty for the annexation of Florida..	414
1820: Admission of Maine.....	418
Missouri Compromise.....	418
1821: Admission of Missouri.....	418
1821-5: Monroe's Second Term.....	413
1822: Congress begins the construction of roads.....	422
1823: The Monroe Doctrine.....	420
1824: La Fayette's visit to the United States	421
A Protective Tariff adopted.....	426
Disputed Presidential election.....	427
1825-9: John Quincy Adams's Term.....	428
1826: Death of Jefferson and John Adams..	432
1827: Cherokee troubles in Georgia.....	431
Horse-railroads introduced.....	429
1828: Introduction of an English locomotive	429
A new protective tariff adopted.....	434
Formation of new parties.....	436

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Jackson in Florida.
2. The removal of the Cherokees.
3. The Cumberland road.
4. The Holy Alliance.
5. The revolt of the Spanish colonies in America.

6. The character and political principles of John Quincy Adams.

7. The "tariff of abominations."

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Documents* gives important documents relating to the Missouri Compromise (Nos. 35-41), the Tenure of Office Act (No. 42), the passage from Monroe's message enunciating the Monroe Doctrine (No. 43), and the protests of South Carolina and Georgia against the tariff of 1828 (Nos. 44 and 45). The *Annals of Congress*, which ends with 1824, is continued to 1837 by the *Register of Debates*, known also as the *Congressional Debates*. The *American State Papers* extends to about 1828. To the collected writings of statesmen should now be added those of Calhoun, Webster, and Clay.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—There is as yet no first-rate extended account of the period from 1817 to 1850, outside of the comprehensive histories of Schouler, McMaster, and Von Holst. Hildreth stops with 1821. Burgess's *Middle Period* is a useful single volume on the political side. The presidential elections are treated in Stanwood, chaps. 9-11. Important biographies, in addition to those already mentioned, are Von Holst's *Calhoun*, Roosevelt's *Thomas H. Benton*, Henry Adams's *John Randolph*, and Shepard's *Van Buren*. John Quincy Adams's *Memoirs* can now be supplemented by Benton's *Thirty Years' View*. Among books of reminiscence, none is more entertaining than Josiah Quincy's *Figures of the Past*. A number of works dealing primarily with the slavery controversy now become of importance, among them Wilson's *Slave Power*, Greeley's *American Conflict*, and Alex. H. Stephens's *War between the States*. On the financial side see Bolles's *Financial History* and Taussig's *Tariff History*. For State histories, Williamson's *Maine*, Carr's *Missouri*, Lowry and McCardle's *Mississippi*, and Pickett's *Alabama* are useful.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—See under Chapter XV., *post*.

CHAPTER XV

JACKSON AND VAN BUREN

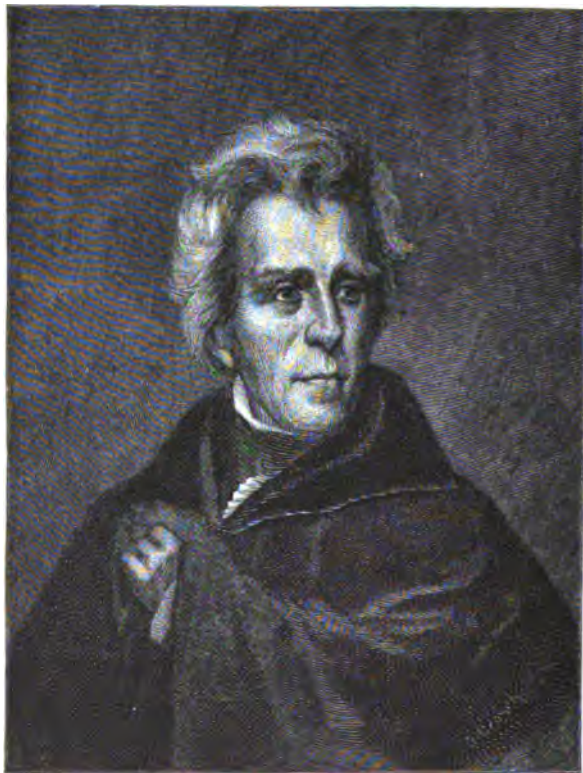
1829-1841

(I) JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATIONS: 1829-37

ANDREW JACKSON, Tenn., Pres. } JOHN C. CALHOUN, S. C., Vice-Pres., 1829-33.
 } MARTIN VAN BUREN, N. Y., Vice-Pres., 1833-37.

441. The New President.—Andrew Jackson was a very different person from those who had hitherto filled the office of President. They had been educated men, long trained in public life, and quiet and dignified in manner. His life had been spent on the frontier, in farming, or fighting battles with Indians or British, or duels with enemies among his neighbors; he had little education and a violent temper; and his manners were odd. But he was intensely honest; no power or influence could make him consent to anything which he believed to be of disadvantage to the people; and he resisted any such measure with such persistence that the common name for him was "Old Hickory." He was a crabbed old soldier, who was determined to do right, but to do right in his own way; and he had little respect for dignity in a man unless the man had other good qualities than dignity. He did the country some harm, and a great deal of good; but this change of Presidents, which seemed shocking to many persons at the time, was only part of a general change among the people.

442. A Wonderful Prosperity marked the whole of Jackson's presidency. Very much of it was due to the introduction of the locomotive, a machine which changed the whole life of the people at a single step (§ 429).



ANDREW JACKSON.

Poor roads had hitherto compelled Americans to move slowly, while they were eager to move quickly, and the enormous extent of their country had been more troublesome than valuable to them; but they now found the very

instrument they needed. They began to move, act, think, and speak in an entirely new fashion. These eight years are the first that are altogether like our own times, though on a much smaller scale; they are the beginning of the modern history of the United States.

443. The Locomotive Engine of Stephenson was brought from England to the United States in 1831. But the Americans at once set to work to make their own engines, and soon succeeded, though their first attempts were naturally very clumsy and unserviceable. The first successful American locomotive was built in 1833. It



EARLY RAILROAD TRAIN.

differed from the English locomotives in many respects, and suited our roads and climate better; and since then we have built our own.¹

444. The Railroad System grew rapidly. Before 1835 there were nineteen railroads built or under construction, their united length being twice the length of the island of Great Britain. Before the end of Jackson's second term, there were 1,500 miles of railroad in operation, and a great number of miles were being built. Within the next four years, nearly all the chief cities of the eastern States were connected by railroad, and the system had begun to spread through the western States. From this time, it is useless to attempt to state the advance of the railroad

¹ This first successful American locomotive, the "Arabian," was still running in 1883. It was exhibited at the Chicago railway exposition, and was burned by accident at Pittsburgh in the same year

system; the figures are so large that they carry no ideas with them. It will be enough to say that there are now, in the United States, nearly as many miles of railroad as there are in all the other countries of the world taken together.

445. The Advantages of the Railroad System were beyond calculation. Wherever it went, it changed the life of the people, opened up new country to settlers, and made settlements possible by carrying crops and goods easily. It gave the United States the advantages of a small country with the wealth of one of the largest countries of the world. Before 1830, men thought that it would require two or three hundred years for settlements to reach the Rocky Mountains: the railroad has done the work already.

446. Anthracite Coal (§ 338) was first used successfully on steamboats and railroads in 1836 and 1837. It contained so much fuel in so small a space that its use aided both steamboats and railroads very much. They had both generally used wood for fuel up to this time.

447. The Screw Propeller, to take the place of side wheels in ocean steamers, was introduced by John Ericsson in 1836. This required less fuel in a heavy sea, and thus promoted ocean navigation between the United States and Europe. The screw propeller, which was under water and out of the reach of an enemy's shot, brought steam war-vessels into use, and these began to replace the sailing-vessels which had before composed the navies of the world. Ocean navigation by steam, which had been attempted in 1819 (§ 337), was successfully begun in 1838, when the *Sirius* and *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic from England to the United States.

448. Other Inventions marked this period. In 1834, McCormick took out a patent for a reaping-machine.

Such machines had previously been tried in England and the United States without success (§ 338); but in the next dozen years they were perfected. They made farming far easier than before, and western lands more profitable. Colt patented his revolving pistol in 1835, and with it came a great change in the forms of firearms. About 1836, the manufacture of friction matches began to do away with the former clumsy ways of obtaining fire. Hardly anything has increased the comfort of daily life so much as this one little invention.

449. The Western States had now fairly begun their wonderful growth. Steamboats were carrying settlers and trade along the Ohio, the Mississippi, the smaller rivers, and the great lakes. Almost all the present western cities, east of the Mississippi, had by this time appeared, though they were still small. During this period the western steamboats increased fourfold, and they built up towns as if by magic. When the first steamboat appeared at Fort Dearborn in 1833, there was no town there; six years afterward, the settlement had become the



CHICAGO IN 1830.—FORT DEARBORN.

flourishing town of Chicago, and a line of eight splendid steamers was running to it from Buffalo and Detroit.

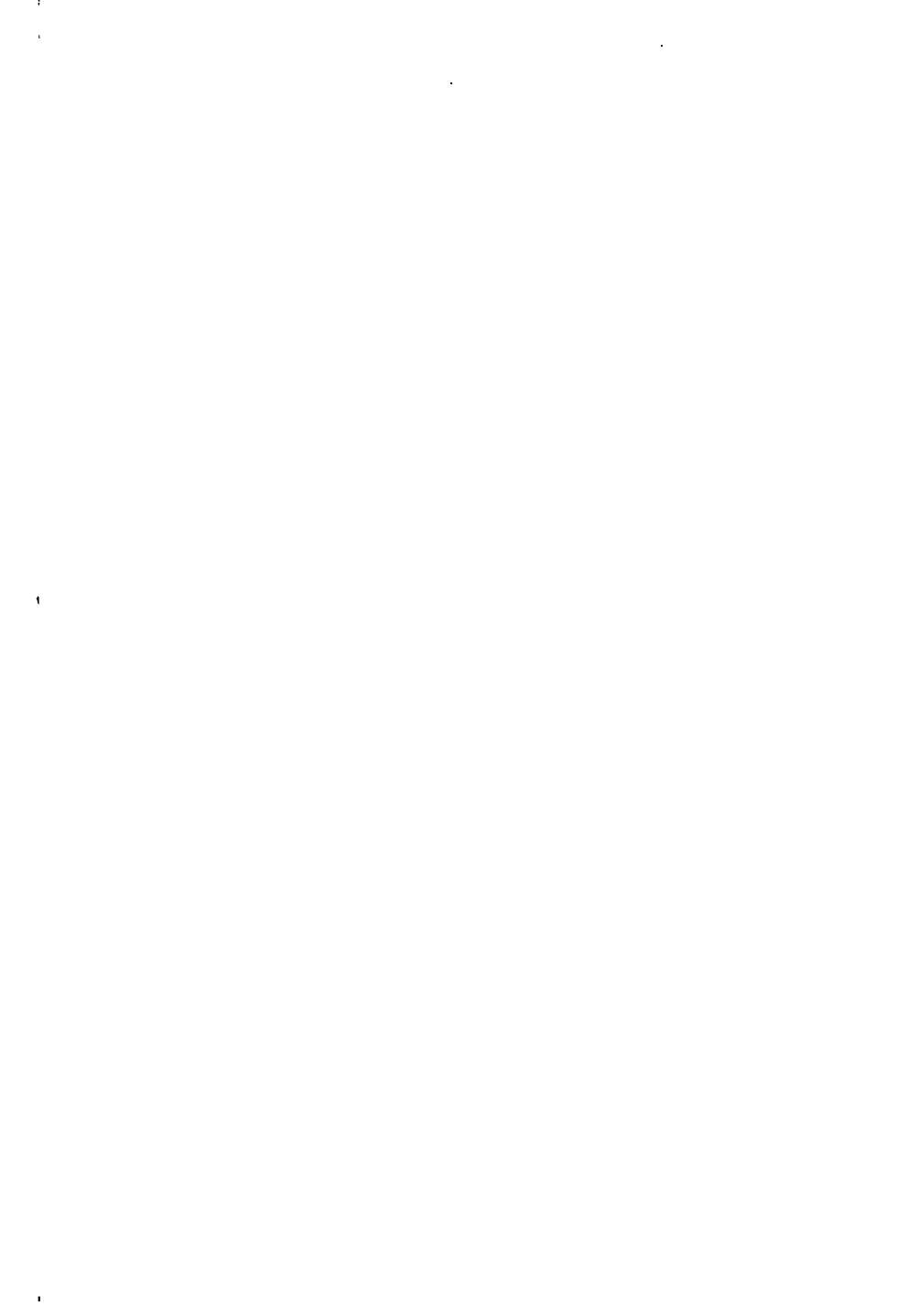
450. The Eastern States were growing almost as rapidly as the West, and their cities no longer looked like over-

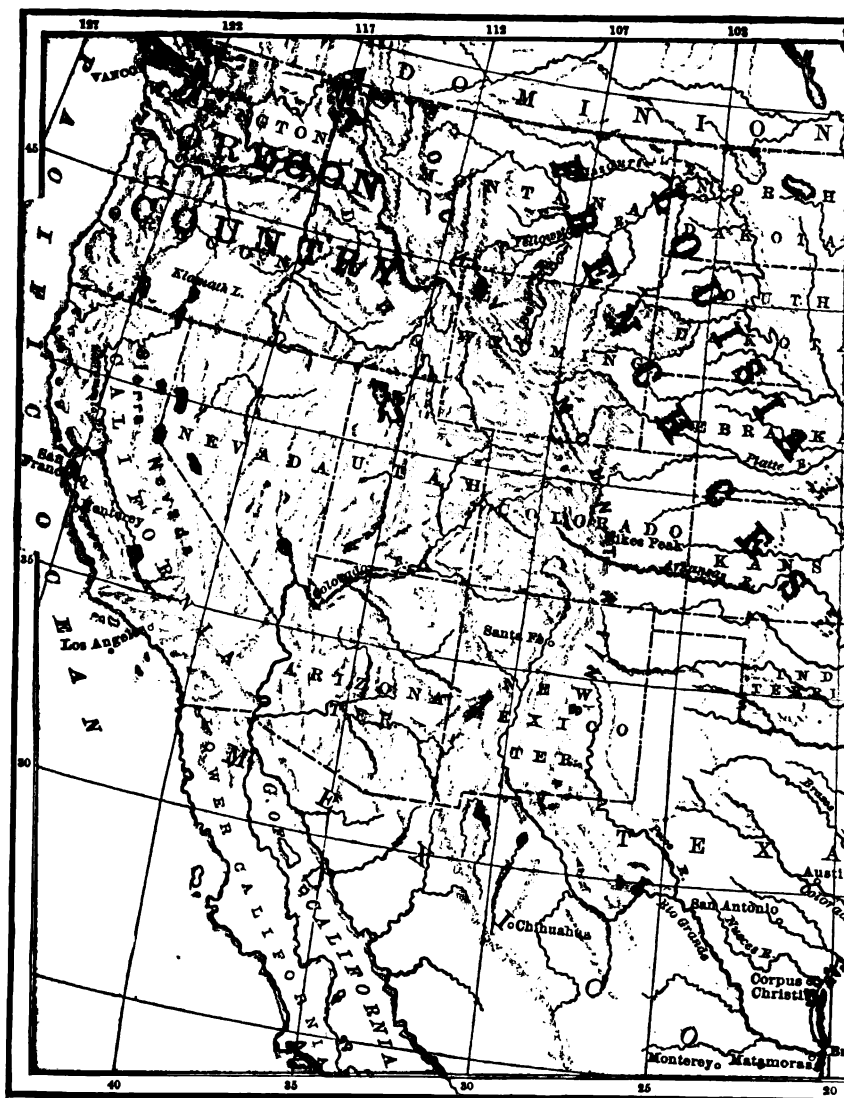
grown villages. A "great fire" in New York City, in 1835, destroyed \$20,000,000 worth of property, more than the whole yearly receipts of the Federal Government had been before the War of 1812; but the loss did not permanently injure the city. In the same year, New York City began the construction of the Croton Aqueduct, which was finished seven years afterward, and supplies it with water from a distance of forty miles. Because of the increase of manufactures, new cities, like Lowell and Paterson, were appearing; and the older cities felt the same influence.

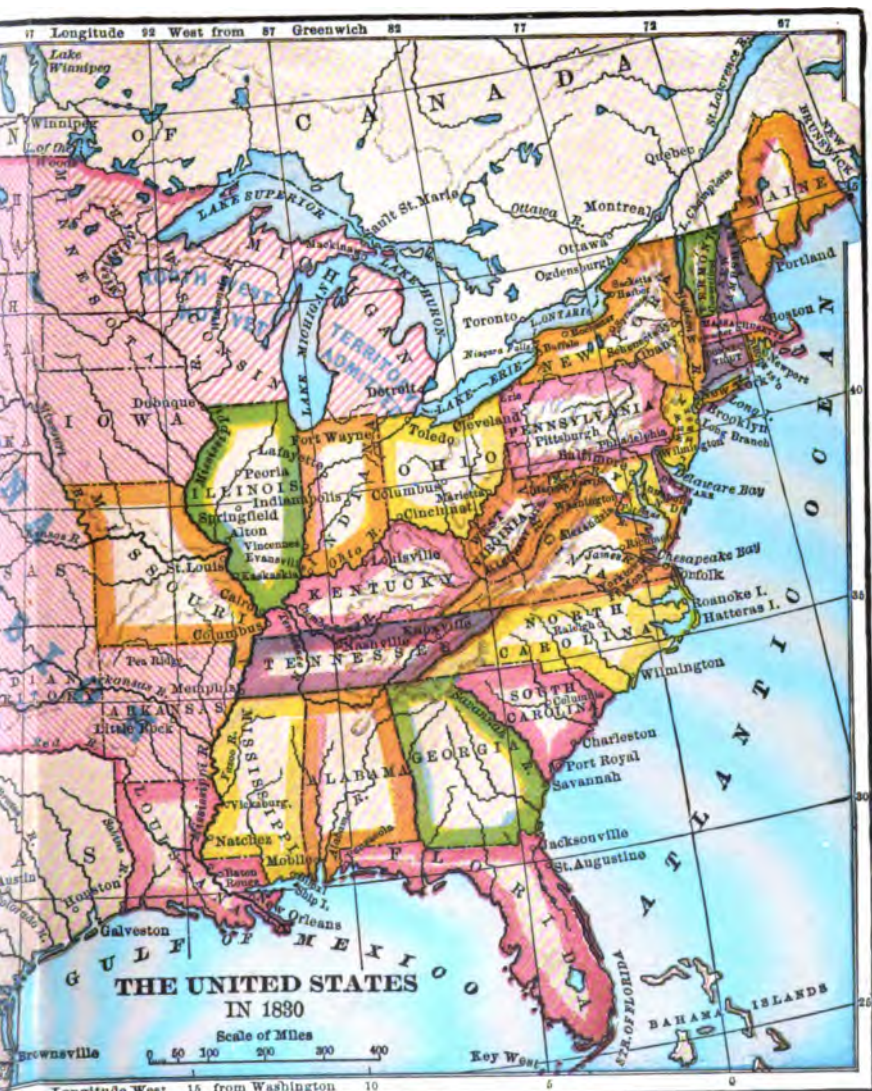
451. The Map of the United States in 1835 was very much the same as at present, east of Pittsburgh, though the cities have since grown far larger, and the railroads more numerous. West of Pittsburgh such cities as Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Atlanta, and Montgomery were not yet on the general maps: they were then either small villages or frontier forts. North and west of Missouri, the country was still a wilderness. Beyond the Rocky Mountains, on the Pacific coast, the country was still almost unknown (§ 528).

452. The Population of the United States in 1830 was 12,866,020, an increase of 3,000,000 in ten years (§ 421), and nearly four times as many as in 1790 (§ 313). In 1790, there had been only 75 post-offices in the United States: in 1830, there were 8,450, more than a hundred times as many. Immigration from Europe had begun, and the steamboats and railroads made it easy for the immigrants to reach the fertile West. The receipts of the Federal Government from the sales of its western lands rose rapidly from \$1,000,000 to \$25,000,000 a year.

453. The National Debt was practically paid off in 1835; and, for the first time in its experience, the Federal Gov-



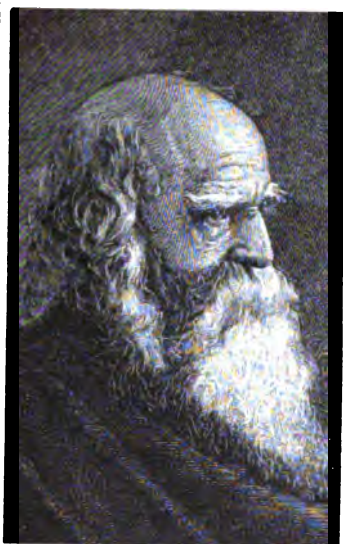




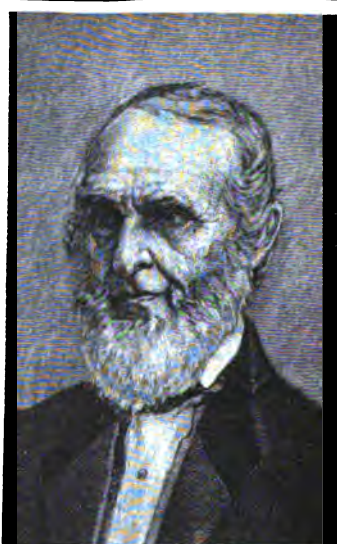
ernment found that it was receiving more money than it could use. The amount not needed was divided among the States. But the States were as prosperous as the Federal Government. They borrowed and spent money freely for the construction of railroads and canals; and, though many of their plans were not wise, they aided immigration and settlement. Private prosperity was also general. The crops were abundant; manufactures were increasing; the banks doubled their number and capital; and every one seemed to expect to become rich in a day.

454.* New States.—Arkansas, a part of the Louisiana purchase, was admitted as a State in 1836. When Louisiana was admitted, Arkansas had become a part of Missouri Territory, and was later, in 1819, given a territorial government of its own. It was the only slave State to be formed out of the region south of latitude 36° 30', after the Missouri Compromise. Michigan, the fourth State formed out of the Northwest Territory, came in as a free State in 1837, after a delay due to a boundary dispute with Ohio.

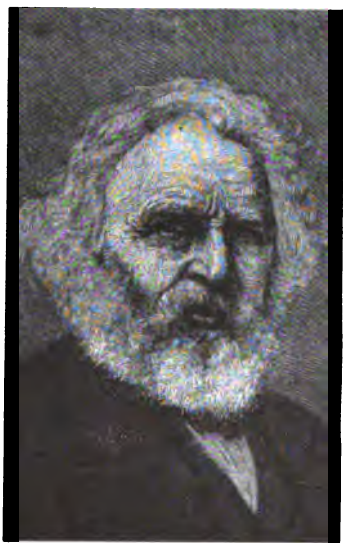
455. Education.—Public schools had now been established in almost all the States, and the public school system had come to be recognized as a necessary part of American life. It was realized that where every man votes, the State must, in self-defence, see that, so far as possible, every man is taught enough to enable him to vote wisely. Massachusetts now made the system still better by beginning the normal school system, for training public school teachers. There were at this time 64 colleges in the United States. During this period most of the States began geological surveys. They have been followed up by the Coast Survey, and other government surveys, until a large part of the surface of the country has been thoroughly mapped out.



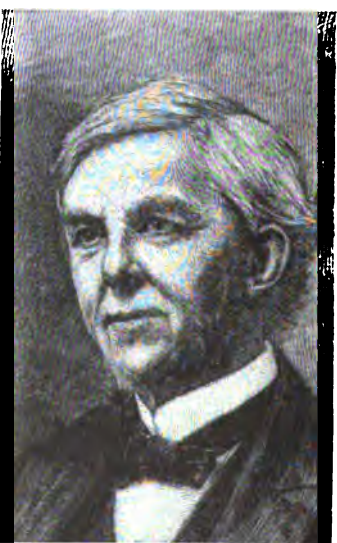
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.



JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.



HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.



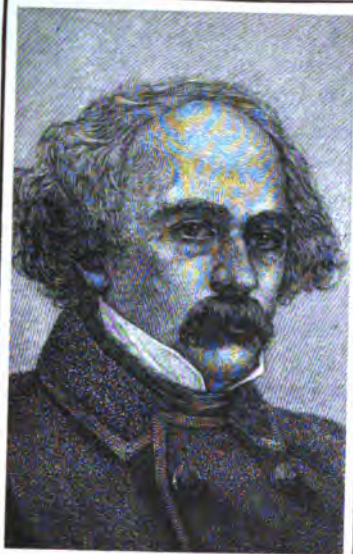
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

456. Newspapers began to change their form about this time. In 1833 appeared the first issue of the *New York Sun*, the first of the newspapers of small price and large circulation. It was followed, two years afterward, by the *New York Herald*, which introduced the activity and enterprise in collecting news which mark modern newspapers.

457. American Literature before 1830. — An English writer had asked, with some contempt, "Who reads an American book?" The question was hardly a fair one, for before 1830 there were American books well worth reading. Bryant, Dana, Halleck, and Drake, the advance-guard of the American poets, had made their appearance; Washington Irving had been recognized as a master of prose writing; J. Fenimore Cooper had published *The Last of the Mohicans*; and Noah Webster had issued the first edition of his English dictionary. And yet it must be confessed that American literature before 1830 was still weak.

458. American Literature after 1830. — These eight years of Jackson's administrations were the beginning of a real American branch of English literature. Three poets made their appearance, Whittier (1831), Longfellow (1833), and Oliver Wendell Holmes (1837). Poe was still a southern magazine editor, but was soon to be recognized as both a poet and prose-writer of genius. Hawthorne published his first important work, *Twice-Told Tales* (1837). Bancroft published the first volume of his *History of the United States* (1834). Prescott published his *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837). For music, sculpture, and the drama the country still depended upon foreigners.

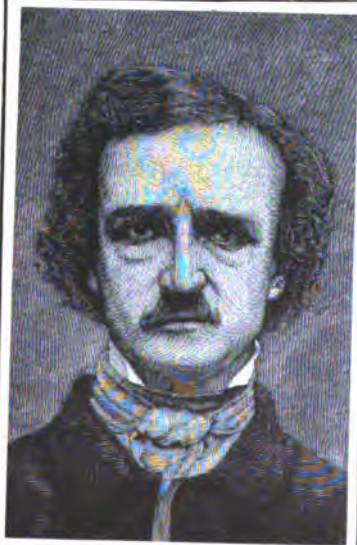
459. Political Writing had lost something of the force for which Americans had formerly been remarkable



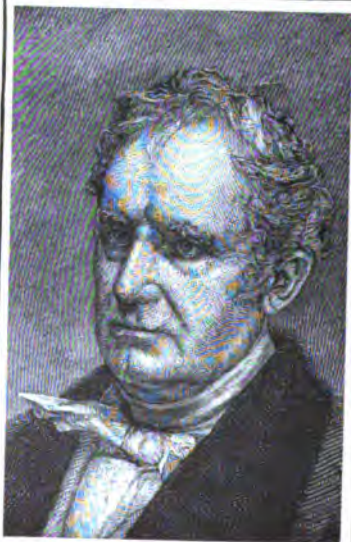
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.



WASHINGTON IRVING.

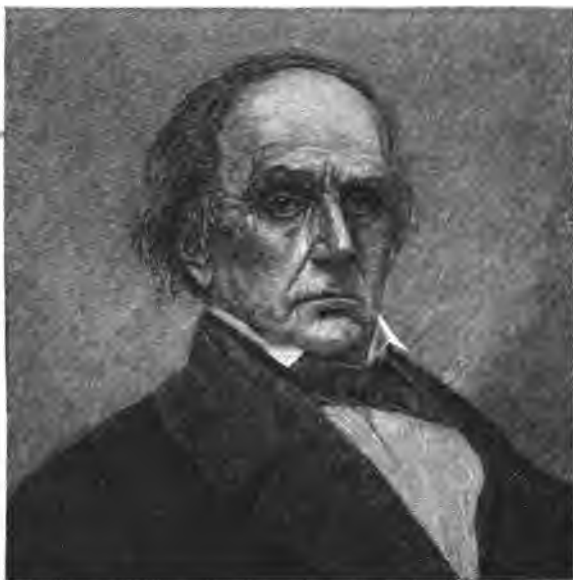


EDGAR ALLAN POE.



JAMES FENIMORE COOPER.

(§ 187). But oratory had improved: Webster was probably the greatest of all the orators that have used the



DANIEL WEBSTER.

English language; Clay was not much inferior to Webster; and Calhoun, though not a great orator, could hardly be surpassed as a master of pure argument. In law, Marshall, Story, and Kent were the best-known names; but the number of able lawyers was very great.

460. The Washingtonian Movement, the parent of the present temperance societies, gained its greatest strength during this period. Drunkenness had been an enormous vice, though no greater in the United States than in other countries. It had been considered quite proper for a gentleman to get drunk after dinner, and not very improper for a clergyman to own a distillery. New England rum and other strong liquors were expected to be offered

to visitors, callers, or workmen; and drunkenness was too common to be good reason for surprise. As a remedy, the Washingtonian societies did not usually demand a pledge of *total* abstinence, as is now the case. But their pledge had the same idea as those of the present temperance societies—the solemn promise of the drunkard to reform, and of others, not drunkards, to set him a good example.

461. The Prisons, in most of the States, had hitherto been conducted on the brutal system which was then common in other countries. One State had used an old copper-mine as a State prison; and most of the States used whipping and torture, under which criminals grew worse. About this time, the penitentiary system was introduced: labor took the place of whipping, and some real effort was made to reform the criminals. The foolish and cruel system of imprisonment for debt also began to be abolished.

462. The Abolitionists.—With changes of such far-reaching importance going on, it was impossible for people to continue to feel as they had felt about slavery. Many good people had hoped that, with the spread of population and the growth of industry, slavery would gradually disappear. In 1831, however, William Lloyd Garrison, the editor of a newspaper called the “*Liberator*,” published in Boston, called for the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. Those who agreed with him were called Abolitionists, and shortly organized an American Antislavery Society. Similar societies multiplied, greatly to the alarm of the South. The alarm was increased by an unsuccessful negro insurrection, under the lead of one Nat Turner, in Virginia, which the Abolitionists were falsely charged with instigating; and thus new occasions arose to increase the ill feeling between the two sections.

Osceola. Many negro slaves had fled to them from neighboring States, and the Indians refused to give them up as the price of peace. The war began in 1835, with the massacre of Major Dade and about 100 men, near the Withlacoochee River, and lasted for about seven years. The Indians took refuge in the swamps and everglades, where it was very difficult for the soldiers to find them. Nevertheless, they were beaten in many small battles, and in one great battle, by Taylor, near Lake Okechobee; and finally they, too, were removed beyond the Mississippi.¹

464. In Foreign Affairs the Federal Government was able to take a firmer tone than it had ever done before. For thirty years it had been endeavoring to obtain payment from France for injuries done to American commerce (§ 318). France was slow in paying; and President Jackson recommended to Congress, without any appearance of anger, that enough French vessels should be captured to make up the amount due. France was exceedingly angry, and threatened war unless the President would apologize, which he positively refused to do. Peaceful feeling was restored by the mediation of Great Britain; and France then paid the amount due. Similar claims were also promptly paid by Portugal and other nations; and it has never since been difficult for the government of the United States to obtain respect and attention to its claims against other nations. The United States has been able to accomplish the settlement of such claims by arbitration; that is, by umpires.

465. This Period of eight years was, as will have been seen, one of the most important in the history of the

¹ Osceola was taken prisoner treacherously, in the second year of the war, while he was carrying a flag of truce. He was then imprisoned in a fort until his death.

United States. It was like the opening of spring, when everything leaps into growth. From that time, the people of the United States have been growing in wealth, but not in wealth alone. They have grown in education, in morals, and in all those things that make a people more kindly and useful to the world. Their public school system, their prison arrangements, and many of their other experiments have been imitated by other nations.

(2) *Political Affairs.*

466. President Jackson, as has already been said, was a man of great natural powers of mind. He was uneducated and had violent passions; but he was absolutely honest and sincere, and did not know what fear or hesitation meant. When he believed that anything was doing harm to the people, he struck at it as if it were an enemy of his own, regardless of the feelings of his opponents, who were, often, just as confident that they were right in their views. He was far more anxious to crush opposition than to convince and convert his opponents. It thus came about that the political history of these eight years was one of almost continuous excitement; and Jackson's friends and enemies accused one another of all sorts of misconduct. The four principal enemies attacked by Jackson were the former office-holders, the United States Bank, the "American System," and the nullificationists in the South.

467. Office-Holders under the United States—postmasters, clerks, marshals, and others—had not hitherto been expected to take part in political contests. They did their work for the United States, and were paid for it. Jackson began by removing all the office-holders who were not his supporters, no matter how faithful they had

been as public servants. After him, every Administration did the same thing, until in 1887 the civil-service law provided for tenure of office during good behavior, and removal only for cause. The system of wholesale removal of political opponents, inaugurated by Jackson, is known as the "spoils system," and its effects upon the public service have been exceedingly bad.

468. The Bank of the United States (§ 408) was, in Jackson's opinion, a most objectionable institution. He believed that the government revenues, which were deposited in the Bank, were used for the enrichment of its managers, to the injury of the people; and that the Bank tried to punish or reward public men in and out of Congress for opposing or helping it. He therefore declared war on the Bank, and stated his opinion of it very plainly in his messages to Congress. His supporters sided with him, and the country was soon divided by the question of "Bank or no Bank."

469. A New Charter for the Bank was applied for in 1832, although the existing charter did not expire until 1836. The bill was favorably acted upon by Congress, but Jackson vetoed it, and the friends of the Bank in Congress were not numerous enough to pass the bill over the veto.¹ The next year, he ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to cease depositing the public revenues in the Bank; and now the friends of the Bank in Congress were not numerous enough to forbid this "removal of the deposits." Little by little, Jackson gained a majority in Congress; and when the twenty years of the Bank's

¹ The veto power of the President is his power to object to bills before they become laws (§ 281). When the President vetoes a bill, a vote of two thirds in its favor in each House is needed to make it a law; and this is generally not easy to obtain. Former Presidents had not used the veto power often: Jackson used it freely, and his use of it seemed to his opponents most unfair and tyrannical.

first charter came to an end (in 1836), it ceased to exist as a government institution. This was the longest and severest struggle of Jackson's presidency, and he came out of it in triumph. The public revenues were now deposited in various State banks, selected by the Secretary of the Treasury (§ 487).

470. The American System of high tariffs and internal improvements (§ 434) also seemed to Jackson not only objectionable, but contrary to the Constitution as well. He believed that it gave Congress too much money to spend; that it made Congress extravagant and wasteful in its expenditures; and that it took money out of the pockets of the people for the benefit of a single class, the manufacturers. But, instead of attacking the tariff, he used the veto power against a number of bills appropriating money for internal improvements, and they generally failed to become laws. In this contest, also, the President was finally successful in obtaining the support of a majority of the people and of Congress.

471. The President's Opponents were mainly the National Republicans (§ 438), now led by Clay and Webster. They supported the Bank and the American System, because they believed them to be of the highest advantage to the country. They supported the Bank mainly because it had branches in every State, and its notes were good all over the country. Without the Bank, there was then, except gold and silver, no money which could be used in every part of the United States. They supported the American System as profitable to the country (§ 425). They felt that they were as honest in their beliefs as Jackson was in his, and that he had no right to speak of them and their plans in the terms which he was in the habit of using. It is very probable that Jackson had warmer friends and bitterer enemies than almost any other President.

472. An Antimasonic Party had grown up in New York and the neighboring States. It believed that, in 1826, the society of Freemasons had carried away and murdered a citizen of New York, named William Morgan, who had revealed its secrets; and it opposed the election of any Freemason to office. Both Jackson and Clay were Freemasons, and the new party opposed them both. It disappeared after the election of 1832.

473. The Presidential Election in 1832 took place in the midst of the excitement which followed Jackson's veto of the new charter of the Bank (§ 469). The National Republicans, who supported the Bank, nominated Clay for President, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. The Democrats, who opposed the Bank, nominated Jackson for President, and Martin Van Buren (§ 483) for Vice-President. They had lost confidence in Calhoun, the late Vice-President, who had become a leader in the Nullification movement (§ 476), and took Van Buren instead of him. After an angry contest, the Democrats were successful, and Jackson and Van Buren were elected.¹

474. The South had not ceased its opposition to a high tariff (§ 436). When a new protective tariff, known as the "tariff of abominations," from its high duties, was adopted (in 1832), this feeling grew stronger than ever. It was strongest in South Carolina, where Calhoun was an honored and trusted leader. He argued that the Constitution gave Congress no power to enact a protective tariff; that such a tariff was contrary to State rights; and that each State ought to protect its citizens from it.

475. State Sovereignty.—It has been finally settled that the Union rests on the support of the whole nation,

¹ Out of 288 electoral votes, the Democratic candidates received 219, the National Republicans 49, and the Antimasonic candidates 7. South Carolina's 11 votes were cast for candidates of her own.

divided into States out of necessity; that it is right, just, and wise to respect the equal rights of the States, as most excellent instruments of good government; but that the national government in its allotted sphere has the right to compel all persons to obey its laws, in spite of State laws, and to prevent any State from leaving the Union. This was the doctrine laid down by Webster, in 1830, in a great debate with Senator Hayne, of South Carolina. But it was the general belief in the South that the Union rested entirely on the support of the States; that each State was altogether its own master; and that each State stayed in the Union only because it chose to do so. This was the doctrine of State Sovereignty, or, as it was often called, improperly, State Rights. Of course, it followed from the doctrine of State sovereignty that, if any State believed its people to be unbearably wronged by the Union, it had the right to secede, or withdraw, from the Union. This was the doctrine of Secession. It was upheld by most men in the South, even by those who had not the slightest desire to put it in force. They would argue, work, and vote against secession; but, if their State should vote to secede, they would have admitted the right to do so, and would have felt bound to "follow their State" (§ 615).

476. Nullification.—Calhoun, like most other Southerners, believed in State sovereignty and the right of secession, but loved the Union, and did not wish to have any secession. To prevent it, he proposed that his State, still remaining in the Union, should declare that it had never given the Federal Government the power to pass any protective-tariff law, should declare the law null (without force) in South Carolina, and should forbid her citizens to obey it or pay the duties. This was called Nullification. The proposition was adopted by South

Carolina, but the other southern States took no part in it. Late in 1832, South Carolina called a convention which declared the tariff law of 1832 null and void, forbade the collection of the duties at Charleston or any other port in the State, and threatened to secede if the law was enforced. It also took steps to prepare an army for resistance.

477. Jackson's Proclamation.—The President disliked the tariff law almost as much as Calhoun did, and he was then trying to have it repealed. But he had sworn to enforce the laws of the country, and he had no notion of yielding to the nullificationists. He sent a naval force to occupy Charleston harbor and collect the duties from any vessels entering it. He issued a proclamation, warning the people of South Carolina that he intended to enforce the law at all hazards, and that blood would flow if they should resist it. All men knew that Jackson meant exactly what he said, and the warning was heeded. It was agreed in South Carolina to "suspend" nullification until after the adjournment of Congress.

478. The Compromise Tariff of 1833.—Congress had no desire to push South Carolina to extremes, and many of its members who disliked protection made the nullification difficulty an excuse to vote against the tariff. A new tariff act, the "Compromise Tariff," was passed in 1833, under which the duties were to be diminished every year until 1842. South Carolina claimed this as a victory, and repealed her ordinance of nullification. This was the last time that nullification was attempted by any State; the next effort was a secession by a number of States in 1861 (§ 610).

479. The Whig Party of England had been distinguished, among other things, for its opposition to the king. About 1833 the name of Whigs was adopted by Jackson's opponents, because they considered him a tyrant, who

used the favor of the people to make himself in fact a king, without any regard to Congress or the laws. The name was taken by the supporters of the Bank and the American System, and by the southern nullifiers, who felt Jackson's proceedings as an attack on themselves.

480. The Presidential Election in 1836 resulted in an easy victory for the Democrats. They nominated Van Buren (§ 483) for President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The Whigs were in great confusion, and made no nominations. Clay was their real leader; but many of them thought Harrison a better candidate; others preferred Webster; and southern Whigs preferred Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, or other candidates.¹

481. The Successes of the President were thus complete. He had won all his political battles. He had kept his oath that, "by the Eternal," he would put down nullification and maintain the Union. He had driven Calhoun and his friends out of the Democratic party. He had driven the Bank of the United States almost out of existence. He had succeeded in making Van Buren, who had supported him in all his struggles, President. He had succeeded in making Taney, who had supported him in his struggle with the Bank, Chief Justice. At the end of his second term, having beaten all his enemies, and rewarded all his friends, Jackson retired from public life to his home in Tennessee.

482. Jackson's Influence.—There can be no doubt that much of what Jackson did had good effects; that it has helped to make it easier for each of us to say just what he thinks, without being exposed to influences which

¹ Out of the 294 electoral votes, Van Buren received 170, Harrison 73, White 26, Webster 14, and W. P. Mangum 11. No one received a majority of votes for Vice-President, and Johnson was chosen by the Senate.

might make such a thing unpleasant or dangerous; and that he thus helped to spread democracy. On the other hand, he did much that had bad effects, which are still felt. In particular, he introduced the system of removing office-holders who were not active supporters of the President. Office-holders were thus compelled not only to do the public work for which the country paid them, but to work for their party besides. They were always at work to have this or that man nominated for office, while the mass of the people were busy with their daily occupations; and thus many things have been done apparently by the voice of the people, when they have really been contrived and put through by a small and active number of office-holders. Nothing could be more opposed to democracy than this; and few things have done more harm.

(II) VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION: 1837-41

MARTIN VAN BUREN, N. Y., President. R. M. JOHNSON, Ky., Vice-President.

483.* Van Buren.—Martin Van Buren had long been prominent in New York politics, and had held in succession the offices of United States senator, governor of his State, and Secretary of State under Jackson. He was a Democrat, and a shrewd politician. He regarded himself as the legitimate successor of Jackson, and professed his agreement with Jackson in policy and ideas; but people came to look upon him as lacking in independence, while his administration suffered from having to bear the consequences of some of Jackson's acts.

484. Wildcat Banks.—During Jackson's struggle with the Bank of the United States, many new banks had been formed in various States, generally with little or no capital to pay the notes which they issued. They bought large quantities of cheaply printed bills. As these bills had cost them very little, they could afford to offer a higher

price in paper money for lands in distant States and Territories than others could afford to offer in gold and silver. Having bought the lands for this depreciated money, the "wildcat" bankers sold them for good money, hoping that their own bills would not soon find their way back for payment. If they were disappointed in this hope, the bank failed, and the managers started a new one. Very many of these wildcat bank-notes were paid to government agents in the West for the public lands which the government wished to sell at a low price to settlers.¹



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

485. The Specie Circular was issued by the government in 1836. It directed government agents to take only gold and silver in payment for lands. Wildcat bank-notes were now of no use in the West, and began to be sent back for payment. The banks had not the money with which to pay them. When the more honest of the bankers began to try to raise money by offering what property they had at lower prices, they threw business

¹ Such banks were a deliberate fraud upon the people, on whom all the losses fell. They cannot exist at present, because of the national banking law (§ 670). A national bank cannot issue notes until it has deposited bonds at Washington with which to pay them, if necessary ; and all other banks that chose to issue bills would be taxed, by law, to such an extent as to drive them out of existence.

into confusion. Prices (in paper money) had been high. As prices fell, every one became frightened, and anxious to sell before prices should fall quite to the bottom. Thus every one wanted to sell, and nobody cared to buy. Business men everywhere became continually more alarmed as they found themselves unable to pay their debts to others, or to get payment of what others owed them. Such a state of affairs brings on what is called a panic, and is a terrible experience for a country in which it occurs.

486. The Panic of 1837 began just after Van Buren's inauguration, and lasted for more than a year. The banks suspended specie payments; that is, they declared that they had not the gold or silver to pay their notes. Men who had been rich were made poor in a day; and a pile of bank-notes became almost as worthless as so much waste paper. There was hardly any work to be had; and men who had not before been rich suffered distress, and sometimes starvation. During the first two months of the panic, the business failures in New York City alone amounted to more than \$100,000,000.

487. Democratic Policy.—The Federal Government, which had lately had so much money that it was compelled to divide a part of it among the States (§ 453), could now get no money at all. All its revenues had been deposited in the State banks (§ 469); and these banks were unable to pay them over. President Van Buren called a special session of Congress. It passed a law allowing the Treasury to issue its own notes to the amount of \$10,000,000, and this gave the government some relief. The Whigs urged the establishment of a new United States Bank, as the best means of avoiding any such difficulties for the future; but Van Buren and his party resisted the demand steadily, and proposed an entirely new plan, called the independent treasury system.

488. The Independent Treasury System provided that the public revenues should no longer be deposited in private banks, but in certain branches of the Treasury Department in a few leading cities. The collecting officers were to give bonds; that is, legal promises by responsible men to make good any loss of money by these officials. For about three years, it was not possible to get a majority of both Houses of Congress to make this a law. In 1840, however, it became a law, and the government was cut loose from banks.¹

489. Repudiation.—Many of the States had borrowed money for internal improvements (§ 453); and they now found it difficult to pay their debts.¹ Some of them refused to pay altogether; and, as States cannot be sued by private persons, this “repudiation” of their debts was successful. Some of the repudiating States afterward paid their debts, when they became more prosperous.

490. The Population of the country in 1840 was 17,069,453, an increase of more than 4,000,000 in ten years (§ 452). In spite of the panic, there were many evidences of real growth and prosperity among the people. After the first effects of the panic passed over, business settled down to firmer foundations. Railroad building had gone on steadily, and in 1841 there were nearly 4,000 miles in operation.

491. Inventions.—Goodyear, in 1839, patented his plan of “vulcanizing” india-rubber, by which it was made hard enough to resist wear and tear, and to be moulded into the innumerable articles for which it is now used. In the same year, W. F. Harnden began carrying parcels between Boston and New York. Out of this little enter-

¹ The Independent Treasury law was repealed by the Whigs in 1841 (§ 501), re-established by the Democrats in 1846 (§ 521), and is still, in its main features, the financial method followed by the United States.

prise have since grown the great express companies which now reach all parts of the country.

492. The Abolitionists (§ 462) were preaching against negro slavery more zealously than ever. They were not allowed to enter the slave States, but their books and newspapers went there and excited the most intense anger. Southern governors and legislatures tried to get possession of leading Abolitionists, in order to punish them; and southern speakers and newspapers began to declare plainly that their section would not remain long in a Union in which men were allowed to stir up the negroes to rebellion (§ 603). In the North, people as yet cared very little about slavery, considering it a matter for which the southern States alone were responsible. But they felt angry that these few Abolitionists should make strife between North and South, and disliked the Abolitionists as much as the Southerners did.

493. Riots were common for a time in the North, whenever an Abolitionist meeting was announced. The Abolitionist speakers were mobbed, pelted with stones and eggs, and chased away. In one of these riots, at Alton, in Illinois, one of the leading Abolitionists, named Lovejoy, was killed. In another, in Philadelphia, a large hall, called Pennsylvania Hall, built by the Abolitionists, was destroyed. But, toward the end of this period, the Abolitionists became more numerous, and the riots became less common. Besides, Congress had done a very foolish thing, which roused sympathy for the Abolitionists in the North.

494. The Right of Petition is looked upon as a very sacred thing. Congress is not bound to grant any petition that may be offered to it; but every man feels that Congress is bound to receive any respectful petition that is presented, from any person, or on any subject. The

Abolitionists had been sending to Congress many petitions against slavery. These petitions were very disagreeable to southern members, and Congress at last decided not to receive any more of them. This decision was disliked by the people of the North, even by those who did not favor the Abolitionists. Great numbers of petitions to change the decision poured in upon Congress; and, after a struggle of four years, Congress decided to receive the petitions again, and the "gag-rule," as it was called, disappeared.

495. The Mormons began to be a source of trouble about this time. They were followers of a man named Joseph Smith, who had given them what he called a new Bible. They regarded him as a prophet, and Christians as "Gentiles," or heathen. At first, they gathered into a settlement near Independence, in western Missouri, where they made themselves unpleasant to their neighbors, and were driven away by mobs. They then settled at Nauvoo, in Illinois, near Burlington, Iowa. Here they became still more annoying to their neighbors, and began to teach that a man may have any number of wives at the same time. In 1844, Smith was shot by a mob, and the Mormons moved away from Nauvoo to Utah (§ 586).

496. Canada was the scene of a rebellion against the British Government in 1837. Many persons in the State of New York were inclined to help the Canadian Patriots, as they were called, and endeavored to cross into Canada, near Niagara Falls, for that purpose. President Van Buren took care that all such attempts should be stopped; and nothing was done by the United States of which Great Britain could rightfully complain.

497. The Boundary of Maine, in its eastern and northern portions, had never been exactly settled. There was a

strip of land which was claimed by Maine and by New Brunswick; and about this time the two parties became so angry that affairs looked warlike. Forts were built, and troops sent to the disputed territory. General Scott was sent to the spot by the President; and he managed to keep the peace until the matter was settled by treaty in 1842 (§ 503).

498. The Election of 1840.—Political affairs in 1840 took an unusual turn. The panic of 1837 had passed by, but many of its effects remained; and a smaller panic took place just before the election of 1840. In such times of business trouble, many persons are likely to vote against the party in power; and the Whigs promised general prosperity if their candidates were elected. The Presidential election in 1840 was a singular contest. The Democrats renominated Van Buren and Johnson. The Whigs nominated Harrison and Tyler (§ 500). Americans are apt to like a candidate who has been poor and has worked his way to prominence by honesty and trustworthiness; and the Whigs managed to excite a great popular enthusiasm for Harrison. They built large log-cabins, such as he had lived in, and gathered in them to make speeches, drink hard cider like Western settlers, and sing songs about Tippecanoe (§ 350). Their public meetings were measured by the acre, and their processions by the mile. The Democrats could excite no such feeling about Van Buren, and Harrison and Tyler were elected. The Abolitionists, or Liberty party, also nominated candidates, but only a very few persons voted for them.¹

499. The Leading Events of the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren were as follows:

¹ Out of 294 electoral votes, Harrison and Tyler received 234, and the Democratic candidates 60.

1829-33: Jackson's First Term.....	\$ 441
1830: General removal of office-holders.....	467
1831: Abolition of slavery proposed.....	462
1832: Black Hawk War.....	463
Bank charter bill vetoed.....	469
New protective tariff act passed.....	474
Nullification.....	476
1833: Compromise Tariff.....	478
1833-37: Jackson's Second Term.....	473
1833: Removal of the deposits.....	469
First American locomotive.....	443
1834: McCormick's reaping-machine.....	448
1835: Great fire in New York City.....	450
Seminole War begins.....	463
1836: Anthracite coal used in steamboats..	446
Screw propeller invented.....	447
Arkansas admitted.....	454
1837: Michigan admitted.....	454
1837-41: Van Buren's Term.....	483
1837: The panic begins.....	486
The Alton riot.....	493
The Patriot rebellion in Canada.....	496
1838: Repudiation of State debts.....	489
The Philadelphia riot.....	493
Abolition petitions refused by Congress	494
1839: Mormons settle at Nauvoo.....	495
Boundary dispute in Maine.....	497
1840: Independent Treasury law passed....	488

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Was Jackson a typical Democrat?
2. The bank controversy.
3. The life of William Lloyd Garrison.
4. The northeast boundary dispute.
5. Appointments and removals under Jackson.
6. The Webster-Hayne debate.
7. Why did South Carolina lead in advocacy of nullification?
8. John Quincy Adams in the House of Representatives.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Documents* gives extracts from the principal documents relating to the bank controversy (Nos.

46, 50-52, 54, 57-62, 64, 65-68), the Webster-Hayne debate (Nos. 47-49), and nullification (Nos. 53, 55, 56), and the constitution of the American Antislavery Society (No. 63). The platforms of the various political parties are given in Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*. The *Register of Debates* ends with 1837; it is followed by the *Congressional Globe*, which begins, however, with 1833.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—As has already been said, the Jacksonian period still lacks its historian. An understanding of it must be sought, outside of the general histories, in the biographies and writings of leading public men, in the proceedings of Congress, and in newspapers. The principal secondary authorities continue to be the same as those cited in the note to Chapter XIV. Peck's *From Jackson to Polk* is a useful general account. There are lives of Jackson by Parton and Sumner, and of Van Buren by Shepard. On financial questions see, in addition to the general works, Taussig's *Tariff History*, Bolles's *Financial History of the United States*, Bishop's *History of American Manufactures*, Bourne's *Surplus Revenue of 1837*, and Sumner's *History of American Currency*. Houston's *Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina* is the best work in that field. Of books of reminiscence, Sargent's *Public Men and Events*, Amos Kendall's *Autobiography*, and Ben: Perley Poore's *Perley's Reminiscences* are especially useful. The best account of the abolition movement is in Garrison's *William Lloyd Garrison*. Cooley's *Michigan* is the best short history of that State.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—G. C. Eggleston's *Red Eagle*; H. B. Stowe's *Dred*; G. P. R. James's *Old Dominion*; J. P. Kennedy's *Quodlibet*; Edward Eggleston's *Hoosier Schoolmaster* and *Circuit Rider*.

CHAPTER XVI
TEXAS AND THE MEXICAN WAR
1841-1849

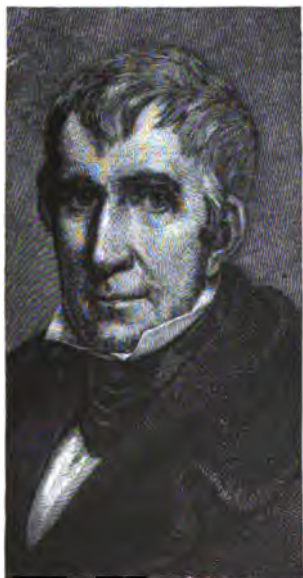
(I) HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATIONS: 1841-5

WM. H. HARRISON, O., President JOHN TYLER, Va., Vice-President and President.

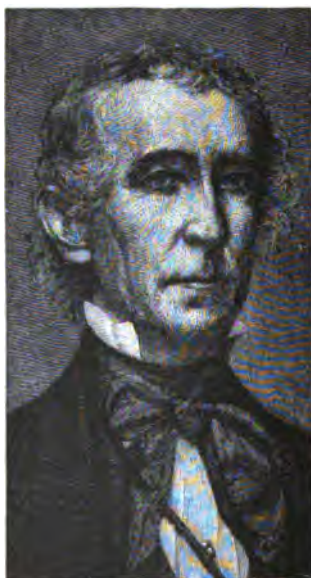
500. President Harrison called a special session of Congress to consider the financial needs of the country. Before it could meet, Harrison died suddenly, April 4, 1841, only a little more than a month after his inauguration. Vice-President Tyler thus became President. Tyler had been a Whig only because of his opposition to Jackson (§ 471); and he was known to be opposed to most of the measures which the Whigs desired. They had nominated him to get votes in the South, and now found themselves confronted by the troublesome veto power of the new President (§ 469).

501. The Whigs and the President.—Congress met in May, 1841. The Whigs had in each House a majority large enough to pass laws, but not large enough to defeat the veto. They began by repealing the Sub-Treasury act (§ 488), and Tyler allowed the repeal to become law. They then passed two acts to establish a National Bank, but Tyler vetoed them both. No more was done at this session in this matter, and no serious attempt has ever since been made to establish a single great National Bank, though a national banking system has been established

(§ 484, note). The Whigs were exceedingly indignant at the conduct of the President, but could do nothing. The members of the Cabinet resigned, except Webster, who was negotiating a treaty with Great Britain (§ 502).



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.



JOHN TYLER.

For the first two years of this administration, the Whig majority in Congress did little more than quarrel with Tyler. Then the Democrats obtained a majority in the House of Representatives, and Congress and the President agreed better. A new tariff was adopted in 1842, to take the place of the compromise tariff of 1833, which had now come to an end (§ 478). It was so arranged as to protect American manufactures, and therefore the South was opposed to it; but there was no attempt to resist or nullify it.

502. Extradition of criminals between the United States and Great Britain was secured by a treaty which was made in 1842. Each country agreed to arrest and send back criminals who should escape to it from the other country. It was thus no longer possible for a criminal to find safety by simply crossing the Atlantic. Similar treaties have since been made with most other countries, so that there is now hardly a corner of the civilized world in which a criminal can find safe refuge.

503. The Northern Boundary, between the United States and Canada, from Maine to the Rocky Mountains, was settled by the same treaty. This put an end to the Maine difficulty (§ 497). West of the Rocky Mountains, in what was then called the Oregon Country, the boundary could not be agreed upon, and both countries had some years before arranged to occupy the country together until it should be necessary to decide the matter. The treaty continued this arrangement for a time. American emigration to Oregon had already begun; and Frémont, of the regular army, was beginning explorations to find passes through the Rocky Mountains (§ 529).

504. The Oregon Country covered what are now the States of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. It was claimed by the United States, partly on the ground that it was a part of the Louisiana purchase (§ 334), though this was exceedingly doubtful, and partly because it had been first explored by Lewis and Clarke (§ 335). Great Britain denied both of these claims, but could not give any very conclusive reasons for her own claim to the country. The truth seems to have been that the United States had very little claim to Oregon, and Great Britain none at all. After all, the best reason why the United States should have the country was that the American settlements there were increasing rapidly, while there were hardly any

English settlements, and little prospect of any. The question was not settled, however, until 1846 (§ 523).

505. Texas was not yet a part of the United States. The United States had at first claimed it as a part of the Louisiana purchase (§ 334, note); but the claim had been given up, in 1819, in exchange for Florida (§ 414), and Texas remained a part of Mexico. Soon American settlers began to enter Texas; and, as most of these were from Southern States, they brought their negro slaves with them. The new settlers had little liking for Mexico, and did not obey when the Mexican Government forbade slavery within its limits.

506. Mexico had rebelled against Spain, and become independent. But it had a most disorderly government, in which generals of the army were in the habit of seizing supreme power and forcing the people to obey them; while the American settlers were not in the habit of obeying any one whom they had not helped to elect. In 1835, they openly rebelled, and drove the Mexican troops out of Texas. The next year, Santa Anna, the Mexican ruler, invaded Texas in a most cruel manner, murdering prisoners, sick, and wounded; but the Texans, under General Sam Houston, met him with far fewer men at San Jacinto, near Houston, and defeated him. Mexico made no further attempt to conquer Texas, which remained an independent republic.

507. The Annexation of Texas was very much desired, especially by the South; and plans to bring Texas into the Union were being constantly discussed. They were not successful at first, for the annexation was not desired by the Whigs in the South, or by either party in the North, and only Southern Democrats were in favor of it. Tyler made a treaty of annexation with Texas in 1844, but the Senate refused to ratify it (§ 281), and it failed.

The annexation was not completed until after the Presidential election at the close of Tyler's term of office (§ 516).

508. Slave-State Representation was the main reason for the desire of the Southern Democrats to annex Texas, in order to give the South an equal share in the Senate. Laws are made by the Senate and House of Representatives together. The South was always the weaker party in the House of Representatives, for its population was smaller than that of the North. But each State is equally represented in the Senate; and, so far, a new slave State had always been admitted to balance a new free State. In 1845, when Florida was admitted, there were 27 States in the Union, 13 free States and 14 slave States. All the southern territory was then used up, and no more slave States could be formed; while the North had still a vast amount of western territory, from which new free States could be formed. It was thus certain that the South would soon be in a minority in both Houses of Congress, so that laws might be passed which would injure the system of slavery. Texas was so vast a territory that it was hoped that it might be cut up into four or five slave States.

509.* Florida.—The territory of Florida, purchased from Spain in 1819, was in 1845 admitted as a State, with laws permitting negro slavery.

510. The Electro-Magnetic Telegraph came into practical use in 1844. There had been so-called "telegraphs" for many years before; but these were only long lines of signal-posts, at some distance from one another, which sent messages altogether by sight, one letter at a time. In 1837, Samuel F. B. Morse took out his first patent for applying electricity as a force for telegraphing through wires. Six years afterward, Congress appropriated money

to try the invention. In the following year, 1844, the first line was constructed from Baltimore to Washington, and proved to be a success. Telegraph companies were at once formed, and new lines were constructed.



SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

511. The Mineral Resources of the United States were not yet much developed. Salt was produced near Syracuse, in New York. Pennsylvania and northern New Jersey had long produced iron, and the Pennsylvania

beds of anthracite coal were coming into knowledge and use (§ 446). There were lead-mines in northern Illinois and eastern Iowa; and a few small copper-mines had been worked without much success in Connecticut and New Jersey. Gold was found in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia; but the total amount produced by these mines in all the years up to 1846 was not equal to a half-year's product afterward from the California mines. The wonderful mineral resources of Missouri and Tennessee were hardly known. No one knew that there was a wealth of petroleum under the surface of Pennsylvania and other States. California, New Mexico, and Nevada still belonged to Mexico; and there was no knowledge of the mineral resources of this region, or of those of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains.

512. Copper became one of the great mineral productions of the United States in 1844. In that year the Indians at last gave up the country along Lake Superior, in northern Michigan (§ 454); and exploration soon found it to be rich in copper. Companies were formed at once, and copper-mining became a productive industry.

513. The Dorr Rebellion.—The power to vote had now been given, in almost all the States, to all men over 21 years of age. Rhode Island, however, still confined the right of voting to those who owned a certain amount of property. This, and some other features of the government, were very unsatisfactory to many of the people; and in 1842 an attempt was made to change these features of the government by force. The attempt was called the Dorr Rebellion, from the name of its leader. It was put down by the State government, and its leader was imprisoned for a time; but most of its objects were accomplished peaceably within a few years.

514. The Anti-Renters.—The descendants of some of the old Dutch "patroons" (§ 112) still held their lands along the Hudson River, and refused to sell them. The rents were low; but the tenants wished to buy and own their lands, the leases of which had come down to them from their fathers. About 1844, many of the tenants refused to pay rent any longer; and there were so many disturbances that the governor of New York was obliged to call out the militia to restore order. Most of the "patroon lands" were then gradually sold to the tenants, and the great estates disappeared.

515. The Presidential Election in 1844 turned on the proposed annexation of Texas (§ 507). For President and Vice-President, the Whigs nominated Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen, then of New York, both of

whom were opposed to annexation. It was expected that the Democrats would again nominate Van Buren (§ 483); but he was also opposed to annexation, and the Southern Democrats succeeded in preventing his nomination. The Democrats then nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, who were in favor of annexation. The antislavery men in the North could not endure the thought of the annexation of more slave territory; but Clay's opposition was not decided enough for them, and the Liberty party nominated candidates of their own. Clay did not lose many votes by this, but he lost enough to lose the great State of New York and the election. Polk and Dallas were elected.¹

516. The Result of the Election was the annexation of Texas. When Congress met in December, it took the success of the Democrats as a verdict by the people in favor of annexation, and in the following spring passed a resolution consenting to it. Tyler at once sent the resolution to Texas, whose government agreed to it, and in the following December the State of Texas was admitted to the Union (§ 522). Texas was the last slave State admitted; but from the time of its admission there was hardly any peace on the subject of slavery until slavery was abolished in 1865.

¹ There were 275 electoral votes, of which Polk and Dallas received 170, and Clay and Frelinghuysen 105. If New York's 36 votes had gone to Clay and Frelinghuysen, they would have been elected by 141 votes to 134 (§ 295).

(II) POLK'S ADMINISTRATION: 1845-9

JAMES K. POLK, TENN., President. GEORGE M. DALLAS, PENN., Vice-President.

(1) *Internal Affairs.*

517. Discoveries and Inventions were numerous during this period. One of the most important was the sewing-machine, for which a patent was taken out by Elias Howe, of Massachusetts (1846). It has since been greatly improved, and has made household life and work far easier than when all sewing was done by hand. Another great step was the use of ether to produce unconsciousness during surgical operations, introduced by Dr Morton, of Boston, in 1846.

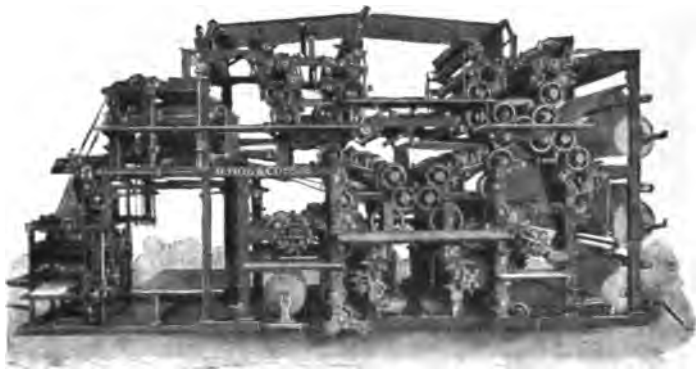


JAMES K. POLK.

518. Newspapers. — R. M. Hoe, of New York, patented his cylinder printing-press (1847), which, with its improvements, has made it possible to print the enormous number of copies issued by the newspapers of the present day. A press association was also formed in New York City (1849): its business was to gather news for all the newspapers belonging to it. There are now a number of such associations in the country.

519. Education.—A naval school was formed at Annapolis (1845); before that time, the officers of the navy

had received their training on board ship. The Smithsonian Institution was founded at Washington (1846), by



THE HOE PRINTING-MACHINE.

a legacy left to the United States by James Smithson, an Englishman. Its purpose is to aid in increasing knowledge; and it has done so by forming valuable museums, and by printing and issuing to the people many valuable books and papers on scientific subjects of special importance.



ANCIENT HAND PRINTING-PRESS.

520. The Department of the Interior was organized as one of the departments of the government (§ 296).

The country had increased very much in wealth; and the government business relating to the country itself had become so large that the departments of State and the Treasury were no longer well fitted to attend to it. It was therefore determined to form this new department for that purpose.

521. In Political Affairs, the Democrats had obtained entire control of the government by the election of 1844. In 1846, they re-established the Subtreasury system (§ 501), and it has remained in force ever since. In the same year, the last remnant of the "American System" (§ 434) was swept away. A new tariff act was passed, which disregarded the principle of protection to manufactures, and aimed only to raise revenue for the government. This system remained in force until 1861, when protection was again begun (§ 691).

522.* New States.—Three new States were admitted to the Union during Polk's administration: Iowa, the fourth State formed from the Louisiana purchase, in 1846; Wisconsin, the fifth and last State formed from the old Northwest Territory, in 1848; and Texas. Of the three, Texas alone had slavery.

523. The Oregon Country was secured to the United States in 1846 by a treaty with Great Britain, which fixed the boundary between British America and the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, as at present. The United States had claimed some territory north of this line as far as Alaska, in latitude $54^{\circ} 40'$; and Great Britain had claimed the territory south of the line to the Columbia River. A large party in the United States preferred war with Great Britain to giving up the American claim: they demanded "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." But by this treaty both Great Britain and the United States now surrendered part of their claims, and took a middle line as the boundary.¹

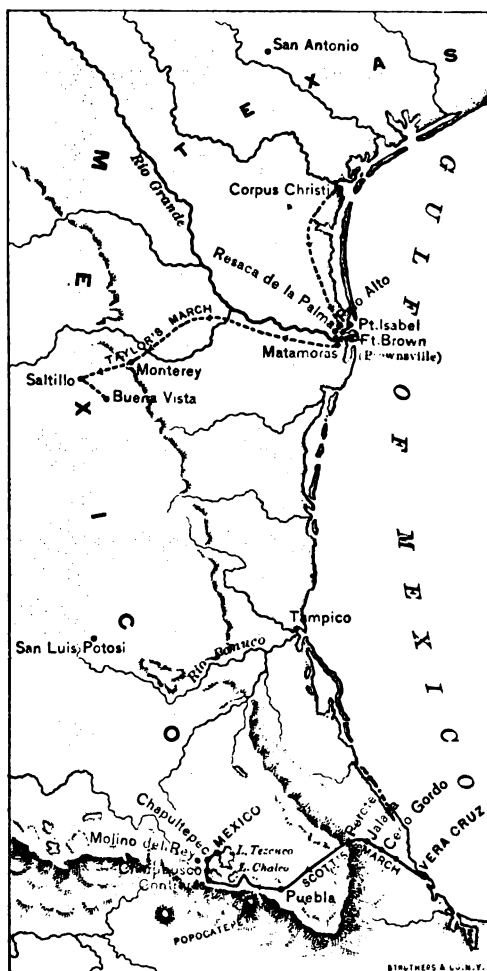
¹ There was some further dispute as to the course of the northern boundary-line after it reached the Pacific inlets; but this was settled by another treaty in 1871 (§ 777).

(2) *Origin of the Mexican War.*

524. The Texan Boundary.—Texas was still claimed by Mexico as a part of her territory; and she was naturally displeased when, without her consent, Texas was annexed to the United States. Nevertheless she showed no signs of intention to make war, and seemed disposed to settle the matter by treaty. Before this could be done, steps were taken which made war unavoidable. The western boundary of Texas was unsettled. Mexico asserted that it was the Nueces River; Texas, that it was the Rio Grande. Between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was a strip of territory claimed by both parties; and in this the Mexican war began. Early in 1846, General Taylor, who commanded in Texas, was ordered by President Polk to take possession of the disputed territory. Taylor crossed the Nueces at Corpus Christi, marched his army to the Rio Grande, and took up his position at Brownsville (then called Fort Brown).

525. The First Bloodshed.—Taylor found that Mexican troops were crossing the Rio Grande; and he sent a scouting party of dragoons, under Captain Thornton, up the river from Brownsville. Thornton's party was surprised and captured by a superior force of Mexicans. Several men were killed and wounded, so that this was the first bloodshed of the war.

526. Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.—So many Mexicans had now crossed the river that Taylor moved back toward the Nueces River, with about 2,000 men, to secure a part of his supplies. Having accomplished this, he set out on his return to Brownsville. On his road he met the Mexican army, three times his own number, at Palo Alto, near Brownsville, and defeated them after a whole afternoon's battle. The next morning, Taylor



SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200

WAR WITH MEXICO.

resumed his march towards Brownsville, and found the Mexicans strongly posted behind a ravine called Resaca de la Palma. He attacked them again, routed them, and drove them across the Rio Grande into Mexico. He then followed leisurely across the river, took possession of Matamoras, and there waited for reinforcements (§ 531).

It is only fair to notice that the Mexicans were under great disadvantages throughout the war, though they were themselves to blame for them. Their men were untrained; their arms and equipments were bad; their government was inefficient, and had little money; and their generals were usually ignorant and worthless. But, even with this admission, the manner in which the armies of the United States constantly defeated superior numbers throughout the war must be considered remarkable.

527. War Declared.—As soon as the news of the capture of Thornton's scouting party reached Washington, the President sent it to Congress for consideration. May 13, 1846, Congress declared that war existed "by the act of the Republic of Mexico." Ten million dollars was appropriated, and the President was authorized to accept fifty thousand volunteers. The war excitement rose high in the country, and over 200,000 volunteers offered their services. The Whigs opposed the declaration of war, for they believed that the war existed by the act of President Polk, and not by act of the Republic of Mexico. But they voted for the appropriations, because they considered that the American troops had been sent into danger by the President, and must be rescued. In New England there were hardly any volunteers, and the war was looked on with great disfavor.

(3) *Operations on the Pacific.*

528. The Mexican Territory, at the opening of the war, included what are now the States of California, Utah, and Nevada, the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Mexico had done hardly anything to settle this region, and it was little more than a wilderness. No one suspected that it contained a wealth of gold, silver, and other minerals; but it was known to be fertile, and it contained the finest harbor on the coast, San Francisco Bay. When war became probable, preparations were made to conquer it, by sending a fleet to the Pacific coast.

529. California and New Mexico.—California was taken in the summer of 1846 by the fleet under Commodores Sloat and Stockton, aided by Frémont, who had moved into California from his explorations in Oregon (§ 503). The towns of San Francisco, Monterey, and Los Angeles were captured with little resistance; and before the end of the year all California was under American control. The Mexicans rose once in revolt, but were finally overthrown, early in 1847, in the battle of San Gabriel, near Los Angeles. New Mexico was seized, during the same summer, by an overland expedition from Fort Leavenworth, under General S. W. Kearney. Kearney, with a little army of about 1,800 men, crossed the plains, captured Santa Fé, and New Mexico passed into American control. He then set off for California, leaving Colonel Doniphan in command. Doniphan left a force at Santa Fé to hold New Mexico, and moved south with the rest of his force into Mexico. Two sharp and successful battles against superior numbers gave him possession of the city of Chihuahua and the country around it. But the time for which his men were enlisted had expired, and he

could advance no farther. He therefore turned aside into Texas, and thence to New Orleans, where he discharged his troops.

530. Acquisition of Territory.—The result of these movements was that all the territory named above (§ 528) was in possession of the United States. It was believed in the United States that Americans could make a far better use of all this territory than the Mexicans had ever done, and that it would be an excellent thing for the territory and for the United States if the conquest were retained. It was therefore decided to keep it at the end of the war, if possible, but to pay Mexico for it (§ 543). All the following battles of the war were fought in Mexico, for the purpose of keeping the Mexicans away from the conquered territory, and forcing them to make a peace.

(4) Operations in Northern Mexico.

531. Monterey.—In the autumn of 1846, Taylor, with about 6,000 men, moved forward into Mexico from Matamoras (§ 526). The main Mexican force, nearly twice as large as Taylor's, took up a position in Monterey, a city difficult to attack and strongly fortified. The Americans were obliged to storm the walls, and then to carry on a desperate struggle within the town. Many of the streets had to be cleared of the enemy by fighting from house to house, or by breaking down the walls between the houses, for the streets were barricaded or commanded by artillery. In four days the work was done, and the Mexican army surrendered. At Monterey, Taylor was joined by General Wool, with 3,000 men. Wool had set out from San Antonio, in Texas, to attack Chihuahua; but the expedition had been given up.

532. Taylor's Position became very unsafe before the end of the year. He had pressed on beyond Monterey as far as Saltillo, when many of his best men and officers were taken from him to strengthen General Scott in central Mexico (§ 534). He then had less than 5,000 men, most of them new recruits and poorly disciplined, and was forced to give up any farther advance. Santa Anna (§ 506) was now again at the head of the Mexican Government; and he seized this opportunity to march against Taylor with over 20,000 men. In spite of the tremendous odds against him, Taylor marched toward his enemy until he found a battle-ground that suited him at Buena Vista, and there waited. The Mexican army reached him February 22, 1847, and battle was joined next day.

533. Buena Vista.—Taylor had placed his army at the upper end of a long and narrow pass in the mountains, with high cliffs on one side and deep ravines on the other, so that the Mexicans could not pass him, but must attack him in front. All day long the Mexicans charged up the pass; but their charges were beaten steadily back, and at nightfall they were forced to retreat. Northeastern Mexico was thus left in the hands of the Americans, and there was no further serious fighting in that quarter. Taylor soon afterward returned to the United States, where he was honored as the hero of the war, and was elected President the next year (§ 548).

(5) *Operations in Central Mexico.*

534. A Change of Plan had been decided upon by the authorities at Washington. General Winfield Scott, the oldest of the American generals, was to be sent with a selected force, in more than 150 vessels, to attack

Vera Cruz, from which point was the shortest road from the coast to the city of Mexico. If he could capture



WINFIELD SCOTT.

the capital, he was to hold it until the Mexicans were willing to make peace. All the other American armies were merely to hold what they had already gained. All the fighting by Scott's army, which ended the war, took place in 1847.

535. Vera Cruz was attacked early in March. Scott landed before the city with 12,000 men; and, after a bombardment of nine days, the city and its great fort of San Juan de Ulloa, the strongest in Mexico, surrendered. The army prepared for an immediate march toward Mexico, for the coast of Vera Cruz was so hot and sickly that it would have been dangerous for an army to remain there during the summer months. The navy took possession of the Mexican ports on the coast, and collected the customs duties for the benefit of the United States.

536. Cerro Gordo.—Soon after leaving Vera Cruz, the road to Mexico begins to rise, and abounds in mountains and narrow passes, which are natural fortifications. At one of these passes, called Cerro Gordo, near Jalapa, Santa Anna had collected an army of about 12,000 men. Early in April, Scott's army, now numbering but 9,000 men, reached Cerro Gordo, and attacked it. The battle

was a complete victory for the Americans: five Mexican generals and 3,000 prisoners were captured, and the rest of the Mexicans were pushed into headlong retreat.

537. The March to Mexico met with little further resistance until August. Scott passed on through Jalapa to Puebla. As this was high, cool, and more healthy ground, he kept his army here during the summer, waiting for reinforcements. Santa Anna, also, was busily collecting troops for the final struggle.



SCOTT'S MARCH TO MEXICO.

538. The Valley of Mexico.—In August, with 11,000 men, Scott again set out, and reached the edge of the valley of Mexico without a battle. Before him lay the valley, like a great bowl sunk into the mountains. In the middle of it was Mexico, a city of 200,000 inhabitants, surrounded by strong walls and extensive lakes; and before reaching it, the little American army was to capture many strongholds, and disperse a Mexican army of three times its own number. So many forts had been built on the regular roads that the Americans cut a new road around them for themselves, and came into the valley at an undefended point.

539. A Day of Victories.—Scott's army moved down the mountain-side to a point about ten miles from the city. Here the fighting began, and in a single day (August 20) five victories were won. (1) Before sunrise the main American force stormed the fortified camp of Contreras, taking but 17 minutes to do the work. (2) A little later in the day, another division stormed the fortified village

of San Antonio. (3) About the same time, one division stormed one of the fortified heights of Cherubusco, and (4) another division stormed the other. (5) While these assaults were being made, Santa Anna moved out of the city to assist his garrisons. The American reserve force attacked him, beat him, and chased him up to the walls of the city. Before night, almost the whole Mexican force was inside of the city of Mexico.

540. Negotiations for peace were now proposed by Santa Anna, to which Scott agreed. They went on for three weeks, until Scott found that Santa Anna was only using the time to strengthen the defences of the city. He then broke off negotiations, and renewed the war.

541. Chapultepec, a strong castle perched on the top of a very steep hill, was now the principal Mexican stronghold outside of the city. Below it was a smaller fortification called Molino del Rey, which was first captured. Nearly a week afterward, the grand assault was made on Chapultepec. The Americans had to climb the cliff, and then use scaling-ladders to get into the windows of the castle. The Mexicans resisted bravely, and even attempted to blow up the castle with every one in it; but the men who were to light the trains were shot down as the Americans swarmed in, and Chapultepec was captured. Immediately afterward, the whole American army moved around to a side of the city where no attack had been expected; and before night it had won two of the gates, and was inside the walls.

542. Capture of Mexico.—During the night, Santa Anna fled from the city with the remainder of his army; and in the morning of September 14, 1847, Scott's army, now reduced to 6,000 men, marched through the main street, and raised the flag of the United States over the national palace. The end of the war was reached by the fall of

Mexico. There was some fighting by irregular Mexican troops, called guerrillas; and the American sick and wounded at Puebla beat off a Mexican force which tried to besiege them. But the real fighting of the war was over, and the only difficulty was to arrange the terms of peace.

(6) *Peace.*

543. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.—Conditions of peace were not easy to arrange. The United States insisted that Mexico should give up its northern territory (§ 528), as a punishment for having provoked the war. Mexico was very unwilling to agree, and it was not until February, 1848, that a new Mexican government consented to make peace on these terms. The treaty of peace was called the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, from the little town in which it was agreed upon. Mexico was to receive \$15,000,000 in return for the ceded territory, and her debts of \$3,000,000, due to American citizens, were to be paid for her. The Senate of the United States ratified the treaty; peace was restored; and the American armies evacuated Mexico.

544. Territorial Additions.—The annexation of Texas, the cession by Mexico, and the Gadsden purchase, south of the Gila River, for \$10,000,000, in 1853, added 967,451 square miles to the United States. This was more than the area of the United States in 1783, and almost as much as the Louisiana purchase (§ 334). The additions gave the United States the form and boundaries which are still retained, with the exception of the purchase of Alaska in 1867 (§ 773). The territorial growth of the continental United States may be divided into four great divisions: (1) the United States, as left by the Revolution, altogether east of the Mississippi, with Florida

added in 1819; (2) Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, with Oregon added in 1846; (3) Texas and the Mexican cessions; and (4) Alaska. Of these, the second was the largest, the third next, the first next, and the fourth smallest of all.

545. Slavery.—The Mexican cession brought up again the question of slavery in the Territories, which had been settled with so much difficulty in 1820 (§ 418). The question was now to be decided over again as to this new territory; and the two sections were now so much stronger, and so much more in earnest, that a settlement was much more difficult than in 1820. The South demanded that slavery should be permitted in the new territory, since Southern immigrants would not be able to settle there unless they were allowed to take their slaves with them. The North demanded that slavery should be forbidden, since the territory was already free by Mexican law (§ 505), and any introduction of slavery would keep free-State immigrants from going thither. There was no middle ground: free labor and slave labor could not use the same territory. It was proposed by some to divide the territory by the Missouri Compromise line, the parallel of 36° 30', which would reach the Pacific at about the middle of California, and to forbid slavery north of the line, and allow slavery south of it; but neither party was willing to agree to this sacrifice.

546. The Wilmot Proviso.—In 1846, when it was first proposed to make Mexico give up territory, David Wilmot, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, introduced what was called from him the Wilmot Proviso. It appropriated money to buy the territory, *provided* that slavery should not be allowed in it. The South proved to be opposed to the proviso; it never became law; and the new territory was acquired without it. Thus, when

this administration ended, the United States owned a vast amount of new territory, without having as yet decided whether slavery was to be allowed or forbidden in it.

547. The Free-Soil Party came into existence in 1848. It was composed of former Democrats and Whigs who supported the Wilmot Proviso, together with the Abolitionists, or Liberty party (§ 498). The old parties, the Democrats and the Whigs, had Southern members whom they were afraid of losing, and they both refused the Wilmot Proviso. Thus the "Free-soilers" were compelled to form a new party of their own.

548. The Presidential Election in 1848 was decided by the new party. The Democratic candidates were Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The Whig candidates were General Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore (§ 557). Neither of these parties said anything about slavery in the new territory. The Free-soilers proposed to forbid slavery in the new territory, and nominated ex-President Van Buren (§ 483), and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts. The vote for the Free-soil candidates was not very large, but it decided the Presidential election, as in 1844 (§ 515). It took so many votes from the Democrats in New York as to give the vote of that great State to the Whigs; and Taylor and Fillmore were elected.¹

549. California, lately conquered from Mexico, proved to be a treasure-house. Gold was discovered on the Sacramento River, early in 1848, just before the treaty with Mexico was agreed upon (§ 543). While a saw-mill and mill-dam were being constructed, some shining

¹ The electoral votes were 163 for Taylor and Fillmore and 127 for Cass and Butler (§ 295). If New York's 36 votes had been given to Cass and Butler, they would have been elected by 163 votes to 127.

particles were noticed in the sand. They proved to be gold, and it was soon found that the soil was rich in the metal. No such gold-mines had been seen in the world before. Other mines had produced a little gold with a great deal of labor: these gave a great deal of gold with little labor. The few Americans in California crowded to the "diggings"; and lucky finders worked for a few weeks or months, and then went home rich, or spent their fortunes in San Francisco or New York.

550. The Gold-fever.—The news of the discovery was hardly believed at first in the older settled parts of the country; but early in 1849, when California gold was brought to the mint at Philadelphia, and was pronounced genuine, a great excitement broke out. Men from all parts of the country flocked to California: they went by steamer to the Isthmus of Panama, crossed it, and sailed up the coast to San Francisco; they bought sailing-vessels, and went around Cape Horn; they travelled overland across the plains. The fever was not confined to the United States, but spread to Europe. Within two years there were 100,000 persons in California, and San Francisco was a rapidly growing city of 20,000 inhabitants.

551. The Leading Events of the administrations of Harrison, Tyler, and Polk were as follows:

1841:	Death of Harrison, and succession of Tyler.....	\$ 500
	Tyler and the Whigs quarrel.....	501
1842:	New tariff act passed.....	501
	Treaty with Great Britain.....	502
	The Dorr Rebellion.....	513
1844:	The first electric telegraph.....	510
	Copper discovered in Michigan.....	512
	Anti-Rent troubles in New York.....	514
1845:	Florida admitted to the Union.....	509
	Texas annexed to the United States.....	516
	Texas admitted to the Union.....	522
1846:	Iowa admitted to the Union.....	522

1846:	Sewing-machine invented.....	\$ 517
	Smithsonian Institution founded.....	519
	Subtreasury system re-established.....	521
	New tariff act passed.....	521
	Treaty with Great Britain.....	523
	War declared against Mexico (May 13).....	527
	Battle of Palo Alto (May 8).....	526
	Battle of Resaca de la Palma (May 9).....	526
	Conquest of California (summer).....	529
	Conquest of New Mexico (summer).....	529
	Battle of Monterey (September 24).....	531
1847:	Battle of Buena Vista (February 23).....	533
	Capture of Vera Cruz (March 27).....	535
	Battle of Cerro Gordo (April 18).....	536
	Battle of Contreras (August 20).....	539
	Battle of Chapultepec (September 13).....	541
	Capture of Mexico (September 14).....	542
1848:	Gold discovered in California (January 19).....	549
	Treaty of peace signed with Mexico (Feb. 2).....	543
	Wisconsin admitted to the Union.....	522
1849:	The "gold-fever".....	550

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Frémont's explorations.
2. Early history of Texas.
3. Causes of the Mexican war.
4. Geography of the Mexican cession.
5. Life in a California mining-camp.
6. Overland routes to California.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Documents* gives the treaties of 1842 and 1846 with Great Britain (Nos. 70 and 74), the resolution for the annexation of Texas (No. 71), Polk's war message and the war act (Nos. 72 and 73), the independent treasury act of 1846 (No. 75), and Giddings's slavery resolutions (No. 69). The text of the Wilmot proviso is in *ibid.*, p. 378. The party platforms are in Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The general authorities remain as in Chap. XV., with the addition of Tyler's *Letters and Times of*

the Tylers, Curtis's *Buchanan*, Pierce's *Sumner*, and Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*. H. H. Bancroft's *Oregon, California, Mexico*, and *North Mexican States and Texas* are the most elaborate special histories. On the Mexican war see Jay's *Mexican War* and Ripley's *War with Mexico*. Much of the period is traversed by works on the later slavery contests (Chapters XVII. and XVIII.).

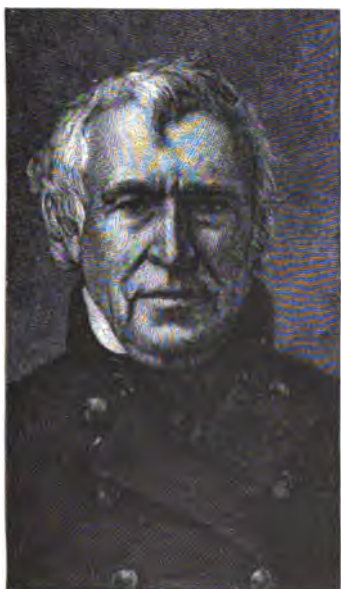
ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—Dickens's *Martin Chuzzlewit* and *American Notes*; Hawthorne's *Blihedale Romance*; Lucy G. Morse's *Rachel Stanwood*; Amelia E. Barr's *Remember the Alamo*; Cooper's *Redskins*; Lowell's *Biglow Papers*; F. Bret Harte's *Tales of the Argonauts*; Dana's *Two Years before the Mast*; Edward Eggleston's *The Graysons*.

CHAPTER XVII
THE STRUGGLE FOR SLAVE TERRITORY
1849-1857

(I) TAYLOR'S AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATIONS: 1849-53

ZACHARY TAYLOR, La., Pres.

MILLARD FILLMORE, N. Y., Vice-Pres. and Pres.



ZACHARY TAYLOR.



MILLARD FILLMORE.

552. Sectional Feeling.—The story of the years from 1849 to 1857 is one of growing separation of feeling

between the sections. The sections were different, from the fact that slavery was dead in the North, while it was in full vigor in the South. The men who owned slaves in the South were not a large part of its population:¹ but they were the richest, ablest, and most influential men of their section, and were very apt to consider any attack upon slavery as an attack upon the South. The great increase of railroads and of other kinds of industry in which more than one State was interested had made the people of the North learn to think of the Union mainly as one country, from which no State had a right to withdraw. In the South, where slavery prevented the development of any such kinds of industry, the notions of State sovereignty and of the right of secession were still sincerely held. All through these twelve years, those who owned slaves were becoming more and more angry at successive attacks upon slavery, and more and more anxious to induce their States to secede. Much as the people of the South loved the idea of State sovereignty, however, they loved the Union more; and with the greatest difficulty they were finally brought to agree to the attempt to secede. Thus this period runs into war between the sections; for it was found at last that the people of the North were willing to fight rather than permit the country to be broken in pieces.

553. The Situation.—From the very beginning of Taylor's term of office most of the country's difficulties were mixed up, in one way or other, with the matter of slavery. In the summer of 1849, the people of California, being troubled with a great many lawless immigrants, and unwilling to wait for Congress to give them a Territorial government, formed a State constitution of their

¹ Only about 200,000 persons out of nearly 10,000,000: or about one in every fifty.

own, and applied for admission; but this constitution forbade slavery, and many Southern members were therefore determined to resist the admission of the new State. Texas claimed a part of New Mexico, and was preparing to send troops to enforce the claim. The North complained of the selling of slaves in the national capital, and the South complained that the laws for the return of runaway slaves were disobeyed or resisted in the North. Utah and New Mexico needed Territorial governments: but the North controlled one House of Congress and the South the other, and the two could not agree as to whether slavery should be allowed or forbidden in them.

554. The Omnibus Bill. — Clay had already shown peculiar skill in settling difficulties of this kind. He had contrived the Missouri Compromise in 1820 (§ 418), and the compromise tariff in 1833 (§ 478). He was now in the Senate, and set himself to arrange a third compromise. In May, 1850, all the matters above stated were referred to a committee of which he was chairman. This committee brought forward a general plan of settlement, covering in one proposed measure so many of the points in dispute that the bill was commonly called the Omnibus Bill. One by one the various parts were passed and became laws in September; and they are called, together, the Compromise of 1850.

555. The Compromise of 1850 included five parts. (1) California was admitted without slavery. (2) Texas was to receive \$10,000,000 for giving up her claims to New Mexico. (3) The rest of the Mexican cession, outside of California, was to be divided into two Territories, Utah (including Nevada) and New Mexico (including Arizona); and slavery was neither forbidden nor permitted in them. (4) Slavery was still to be permitted in the District of

Columbia, but there was to be no buying or selling of negroes. (5) A new fugitive-slave law was passed.

556. The Fugitive-Slave Law provided for the arrest of runaway slaves in the Northern States by United States officers. If a person was arrested as a runaway, his testimony was not to be taken; and for this reason there were cases of great harshness, and arrests and convictions of persons who probably never had been slaves. As soon as the law began to be enforced, it excited the only strong opposition that met any part of the Compromise of 1850. The Abolitionists had always considered slavery "a sin against God and a crime against man." Others, who had thought little about the matter, were brought to the same opinion by the cases of severity in the chase after runaway slaves in the North. Nothing had yet done so much to increase the number of antislavery men in the North as this new fugitive-slave law.

557. Death of Taylor.—While the Compromise of 1850 was still under discussion, President Taylor died, and Vice-President Fillmore became President in his stead. Taylor was a simple and honest soldier, who was commonly called "Rough and Ready" by his men and by the people; and he was greatly regretted. But there was no such quarrel between Congress and Fillmore as in Tyler's case (§ 501).

558. A Change of Leaders marks this administration. During its four years, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Polk, and Taylor died; and a number of less prominent leaders either died or left public life. There appeared in Congress a number of able antislavery leaders, the most prominent being Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, William H. Seward, of New York, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. There had been antislavery men in Congress before; but none of them, excepting John Quincy Adams and John P.

Hale, of New Hampshire, were as able as these new men. There were new Southern leaders also, who were very warm in their support of slavery, Jefferson Davis (§ 614) being one of the most prominent.

559. Results of the Compromise.—Most people were content with the Compromise, except as to the Fugitive-Slave Law. But it was really an unfortunate settlement. It was a public recognition of the fact that there were now two sections in the United States, instead of one nation; and from this time it was more and more difficult to make laws which were satisfactory to both sections.



SALMON P. CHASE.

560. Change of Parties.—Until this time, there had been Northern and Southern Democrats, and Northern and Southern Whigs. Many of the Northern Whigs were not inclined to support slavery; and therefore many of the Southern Whigs began to leave their former party, and vote and act with the Democrats. The result was that the Southern portion of the Democratic party was steadily growing stronger, while the Whig party went to pieces after the next Presidential election, leaving for about two years only one great party, the Democratic party. All this meant, of course, that even the parties were becoming sectional.

561. The Population of the United States in 1850 was 23,191,876, an increase of 6,000,000 since 1840 (§ 490).

Railroads, telegraphs, steamers, banks, and commerce were increasing as rapidly as the population. Prosperity was universal; but the only important new direction it had yet taken was the gold production of California.

562. A Pacific Railroad, to connect California to the Eastern States, was evidently needed; but there were many difficulties in the way of it. Between Missouri and California the whole country was a wilderness, where railroad-building would be extremely expensive. Private persons could not build without help from Congress; and Congress, in 1853, ordered surveys to be made, in order to find passes for the road through the Rocky Mountains. The work was not begun until nearly ten years later (§ 783).

563. The Presidential Election in 1852 put an end to the Whig party. The Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President were Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, and William R. King, of Alabama. The Whig candidates were General Winfield Scott (§ 534), and William A. Graham, of North Carolina. The Free-soil candidates were John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana. The vote for the Free-soil candidates was less than in 1848. Many of the Northern Whigs disliked the Fugitive-Slave Law, and refused to vote because their convention approved it. Many of the Southern Whigs had left their party. The Whigs thus lost votes on both sides, and Pierce and King were elected, carrying all but four States.¹

¹ There were 254 electoral votes for Pierce and King, and 42 for Scott and Graham (§ 295). Some attempts were made to revive the Whig party, but they did not succeed. It was commonly said that the Whig party was killed by attempting to swallow the Fugitive-Slave Law.

(II) PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION: 1853-7

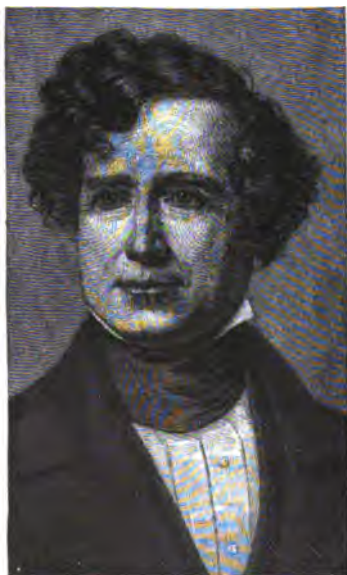
FRANKLIN PIERCE, N. H., President.

WM. R. KING, Alabama, Vice-President.

(I) *Internal Affairs.*

564. Exhibitions.—In 1851, there had been held at London a "World's Fair," the first of the great exhibitions of arts and manufactures which have since become so common. American inventions had taken a high place in it. In 1853, a similar exhibition was opened at the Crystal Palace, a large structure of glass and iron, on Reservoir Square,¹ in New York City.

565. Clearing-houses.—The banking business in New York City had by this time grown so large that in 1853 a clearing-house was opened there. Its business is to balance daily the accounts of the different banks with one another, so as to avoid the trouble of paying large sums of money back and forth. In the clearing-house, each bank exchanges the checks it holds against other banks for their checks against it, paying or receiving only the difference



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

¹ Now Bryant Park.

in money. Institutions of this kind have since been opened in other cities; and the business of the New York City clearing-house has grown to be the largest in the world.

566. Roads and Bridges.—The condition of the ordinary roads of the country, though bad enough, was now far better than it had been thirty years before; and it has been improving ever since. The growth of the railroad system had forced the country to attend to the building of bridges, and particularly of suspension-bridges. A bridge of this kind had been thrown over the Niagara River with much difficulty in 1848. Since then they had increased in number; and in 1856 the first of them over the Mississippi River was erected at Minneapolis. The American suspension-bridges are now exceedingly numerous and among the most beautiful of their class.¹

(2) *Foreign Affairs.*

567. Naturalization.—A person born and living in a country owes obedience to its government and is said to be one of its subjects. When he changes his residence to another country, and declares that he chooses that for his own in future, he is said to become its subject by naturalization, and then he ceases to owe obedience to the country in which he was born. This right of naturalization had always been asserted by the United States, and had been one of the causes of the War of 1812, as Great Britain would not admit that her subjects could become naturalized in the United States (§ 344). The growing power of the United States now made it possible to support the right effectively.

¹ One of the most important, though not the largest, is that over the East River, between New York and Brooklyn, finished in 1883.

568. Martin Koszta was an Austrian subject by birth. He had headed a rebellion in Austria, had been defeated, and had then taken steps to become a naturalized American citizen. In 1853, the Austrians caught him in Asia Minor, and placed him on board a frigate, claiming that he was still an Austrian subject. Thereupon a United States war-vessel ranged up alongside of the Austrian vessel, threatened to fire on her, and compelled her to give Koszta up. Austria complained, but the American Government supported its officer and gave him a medal. Since then, foreign governments have not denied that their subjects might become American citizens by naturalization, and thus cease to owe obedience to their former governments.

569. Japan had hitherto refused to have any dealings with foreign nations. In 1854, Commodore M. C. Perry, with an American fleet, pushed his way into Japan, and induced its government to agree to a commercial treaty. Japan has since gone on rapidly in the road to an acceptance of modern civilization, and is now recognized as one of the most active and progressive of modern States.

570. Cuba.—Filibustering expeditions against the Spanish possessions in the West Indies were attempted during this period. Their object was to conquer Cuba, and then obtain its admission to the Union as a slave State. Such expeditions are against the laws of the United States, and they had to be begun secretly. They were all failures, and some of their leaders were executed by the Spanish authorities. The American Government offered to buy Cuba from Spain, but Spain refused to sell it. In 1854, the three leading American ministers in Europe met at Ostend, in Belgium, and issued a circular, or general letter. It claimed that the possession of Cuba was a necessity for the United States. Many persons in Europe

and America considered it a threat to attack Cuba, and blamed the ministers for issuing it.¹

(3) *Slavery and Politics.*

571. Slavery had now split the great religious denominations, excepting the Episcopalians and Catholics, into Northern and Southern churches. It had split the Whig party into two parts (§ 560). It had formed two sections which were every year becoming more opposed to each other. Every one could see that there were signs of terrible danger to the country, though no one could see exactly in what quarter a rupture might first occur.

572. The American Party sprang up during this period, to take the place of the Whig party; but it lived only for a few years. Its members were sworn not to tell anything of its proceedings, and they were therefore often called "Know Nothings." The party tried to bring in a new question, instead of the dangerous question of slavery. Troubles in Europe had enormously increased the immigration into the United States, and many of the immigrants were very ignorant men. The American party wished to prevent foreign-born citizens from holding office, and from voting, except after a very long residence. It came to an end soon after the Presidential election of 1856 (§ 582).

573. New Territories.—The Democratic party had been kept together in 1850 by the agreement that Congress should neither forbid nor permit slavery in the new Territories of Utah and New Mexico, but should leave their people to settle the matter (§ 555). In 1854, it was pro-

¹ William Walker, a Southerner, began his filibustering expeditions against Central America during this period. They continued until 1860, when he was captured and shot by a Central American government.

posed to form Territorial governments for Kansas and Nebraska. Congress had "forever" forbidden slavery in the region in 1820, when Missouri was admitted as a slave State (§ 418). But Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and other new Democratic leaders, thought that the Compromise of 1850 had changed all this, and that Congress was bound to act in the case of Kansas and Nebraska as it had done in the case of Utah and New Mexico.

574. Kansas-Nebraska Act.—Douglas therefore put into the bill a declaration that Congress had had no right to forbid slavery in this region in 1820; that slavery was now neither forbidden nor allowed in these Territories; and that their people were to settle the matter. In this form the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed, by the votes of Northern and Southern Democrats and Southern Whigs, and became law in 1854. It proved to be the coming source of danger, and there was thereafter no more peace on the subject of slavery; for it had reopened a question which had once been settled, but which could not now be settled again peaceably.

575. In the North there was more excitement and anger than had been caused by any previous action of Congress. People were reminded that slavery had been forbidden in Kansas and Nebraska as part of a bargain between the North and the South, and it was said that the South, having received its share in the admission of Missouri, had now broken its agreement as to the rest of the Louisiana purchase. It soon came to be believed that Southerners cared less for the Union, or for anything else, than they did for the extension of slavery; and the North began to unite against them.

576. The Republican Party.—At the first election of Congressmen after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, every one in the North who was opposed to the

extension of slavery, whether he had been called a Democrat, a Whig, a Free-soiler, or an American, dropped his former party and voted for candidates opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. At first they were called "Anti-Nebraska Men," and under this name they elected, in the autumn of 1854, a majority of the House of Representatives for the next Congress. Before the new Congress met, they had taken the name of the Republican party, which is still retained. The membership of the new party was mainly of former Northern Whigs, with a smaller number of former Democrats. It was confined to the Northern States, and had no members in Southern States, except in Missouri, among the German settlers, and in western Virginia, which had been largely settled by Ohio people.

577. In the South the feeling was as much astonishment as anger. People there were so accustomed to slavery that they could see no reason for this excitement in the North; and they concluded that it had been contrived by new men, who wanted only to get into power. They felt that the South was attacked without reason; and Southerners of all parties began to unite against the North as against a common enemy.

578. The Struggle for Kansas began at once. Money was raised in the North to fit out parties of immigrants, who were to settle Kansas and by their votes make it first a free Territory and finally a free State. In the same way, Southern parties were fitted out to take slaves to Kansas, and by their votes to make it first a slave Territory and finally a slave State. In such a struggle the South was at a disadvantage, for no man liked to take to Kansas his slaves, which had cost him money, under the risk of losing both slaves and money if his side should be beaten. So it happened that the Southern parties were

chiefly young men, who went to Kansas for excitement's sake; while the Northern parties were *bona fide* settlers, who went to stay and to make homes for themselves and their children. As very few of the Southern parties took slaves with them, one might suppose that there was little or no reason for quarrel between the settlers from the two sections. Quarrels arose because the settlers from each section voted together for one object, claimed to have won a victory, and attempted to force the other party to submit. In the end, the Northern immigrants completely outnumbered their opponents, and made Kansas a free State after a five years' struggle.

579. The Conflict in Kansas.—The road to Kansas from the Northern States went across the slave State of Missouri. The people of western Missouri refused to allow free-State parties to cross their State into Kansas, and forced them to turn back. When the first election-day came, parties of men from Missouri moved into Kansas, voted, and made it a slave Territory. Then the free-State parties took the roundabout road through Iowa, entering Kansas from the north; and the struggle in the Territory itself began. The Southern settlers formed one government, the Northern settlers formed another; and each considered the opposite party rebels against a lawful government. As each side attempted to put its laws into execution, and was resisted by force, the struggle soon became an open war. Men were shot; parties of immigrants were robbed and dispersed; and towns were plundered and burned. Small armies, with cannon, were formed on both sides; and the newspapers all over the country were filled with news from Kansas. The President sent out one governor after another; but none of them could do much to keep order until the free-State settlers became so numerous that their opponents gave up

the struggle. This did not take place until after the end of this administration, about 1858.

580. The Debates in Congress were of the angriest sort. Duels were threatened, and many members regularly carried pistols or knives, expecting to be attacked by some of their opponents. The Republicans usually controlled the House of Representatives, while the Democrats controlled the Senate; and many laws failed to be passed, for want of agreement between the two branches of Congress. Kansas had formed a State constitution, forbidding slavery, and applied for admission, with the support of the Republicans; but the Senate refused to admit it.

581. Assault on Sumner.—Sumner was one of the most effective Republican speakers in Congress; and many of



CHARLES SUMNER.

his speeches were very unpleasant to Southern members. In 1856, he made a violent speech in the Senate which reflected severely upon one of the South Carolina Senators. Thereupon the Senator's nephew, Preston S. Brooks, a South Carolina representative, entered the Senate chamber, attacked Sumner unexpectedly, and beat him with a cane so cruelly that

his life was despaired of. This scandalous affair added fuel to the flame, for it shocked the North, while it was not disapproved at the South.

582. The Presidential Election in 1856 was remarkable for the sudden increase of the new Republican party.

The Democratic candidates were James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge. The Republican candidates were John C. Frémont, of California, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey. The American, or "Know-Nothing," candidates were ex-President Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee. One State (Maryland) voted for the American candidates; eleven of the free States voted for the Republican candidates; and Buchanan and Breckinridge received the votes of the remaining nineteen States, and were elected.¹

583. The Result of the Election was anything but pleasant to the South. Up to this time, no open opponent of slavery had ever received the vote of any State in a presidential election: now an antislavery party, not yet two years old, had carried nearly all the free States, and had come dangerously near electing its candidates. It is quite certain that secession would not have taken place, even if Frémont and Dayton had been elected, for the South was not ready for it. But there was already a strong party of secessionists in the South (§ 611); and they spent the next four years in trying to prepare the South for secession in 1860, if the Republicans should then carry all the free States and elect their candidates.

584. The Leading Events of the administrations of Taylor, Fillmore, and Pierce are as follows:

1850: Death of Taylor, and succession of Fillmore.....	§ 557
Compromise of 1850.....	555
Admission of California.....	555
Fugitive-Slave Law passed.....	556
1853: Pacific Railroad surveys ordered.....	562
Crystal Palace Exhibition.....	564
The Koszta case.....	568

¹ There were 296 electoral votes: of these, Buchanan and Breckinridge received 174, Frémont and Dayton 114, and Fillmore and Donelson 8.

1854: The Japan treaty.....	§ 569
The Kansas-Nebraska Act.....	574
1855: Rise of the Republican party.....	576
The struggle in Kansas begun.....	578
1856: Assault on Sumner.....	581

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Slavery in the District of Columbia.
2. Personal-liberty laws.
3. Early railroads to the West.
4. Emigrant-aid societies.
5. John Brown in Kansas.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Documents* gives important extracts relating to the Compromise of 1850 (Nos. 78–83) and the Kansas-Nebraska Act (Nos. 85–88), and the text of the Ostend manifesto (No. 89).

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—To the larger comprehensive works is now to be added Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*. General works of importance, besides those previously mentioned, are Julian's *Joshua R. Giddings*, Birney's *James G. Birney and his Times*, Coleman's *John J. Crittenden*, Hart's *Salmon P. Chase*, C. F. Adams's *Richard H. Dana*, Wise's *Seven Decades of the Union*, Sargent's *Public Men and Events*, and the writings and speeches of Sumner, Seward, and Chase. Important aspects of the slavery struggle are also set forth in McDougall's *Fugitive Slaves*, Hurd's *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, Pike's *First Blows of the Civil War*, Sanborn's *John Brown*, Spring's *Kansas*, Thayer's *Kansas Crusade*, Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress*, May's *Recollections of the Antislavery Conflict*, and J. F. Clarke's *Antislavery Days*.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—H. B. Stowe's *The Minister's Wooing*; G. W. Curtis's *Potiphar Papers* and *Prue and I*; Lucy Larcom's *A New England Girlhood*; Tincker's *House of Yorke*.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION: 1857-61

JAMES BUCHANAN, Pa., President. JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, Ky., Vice-President.

(1) *Internal Affairs.*

585. A Financial Panic occurred in 1857, brought on in part by too rapid building of railroads in places where they did not pay expenses. Railroads had been built in parts of the country where there were but few inhabitants, but where it was hoped that the railroads would bring settlers. The settlers did not come rapidly, and the railroads were operated at a loss. Men who needed the money which they had put into the railroads began to offer their shares at lower prices. As prices fell, others became frightened and tried to sell; and, just as in 1837 (\$ 485), a panic ensued. It probably caused more loss than in 1837, but the country was now so much richer that the loss was less severely felt.



JAMES BUCHANAN.

586. The Mormons (§ 495) had by this time settled in Utah, around Salt Lake City. Here they became more troublesome than ever, and disobeyed the laws made for them by Congress. In 1857, when the President sent a new governor to Utah, he sent also a body of troops to enforce obedience. The Mormons made ready for resistance, and succeeded in keeping the troops out on the plains through the winter. But in the spring of 1858 they submitted, and the troops entered Salt Lake City. The Mormons, however, continued to be troublesome. They had greatly increased in number, and Congress had not succeeded in stopping their illegal marriages.

587. New States.—Minnesota, formed from the Louisiana purchase, was admitted as a State in 1858. Part of the former Oregon country was admitted as a State under the name of Oregon in 1859. Kansas, after repeated applications and refusals, was admitted as a State, just at the end of this administration (1861), when Southern Senators had begun to withdraw (§ 616).

588. The Census of 1860.—The population of the United States, by the census of 1860, was 31,443,321, an increase of over 8,000,000 in ten years. This was the point at which the population of the United States, which had been nothing 260 years before, at last passed that of the mother country; for the population of Great Britain and Ireland was but 29,000,000 in 1861. But the increase of population in the United States had now become startling. Each new census showed an increase of about one third; and these leaps grew longer as the population grew larger.¹ The census also showed a wonderful prosperity. Railroads had increased from nothing in 1830 to a length of 31,000 miles, built at a cost of nearly \$1,200,000,000,

¹ From 1790 to 1800 this one-third increase was but 1,400,000; from 1850 to 1860 it was 8,250,000.

almost a clear increase of wealth. In merchant-vessels, the country now stood next to Great Britain. In agriculture, the product was far beyond that of any other country. The largest crop, cotton, made 5,000,000 bales of 400 pounds each. All the property of the country was now roughly valued at \$16,000,000,000: and yet this was the country on whose shores, 260 years before, Gosnold could find nothing but sassafras and a few half-naked Indians.

589. The Map of the United States had changed greatly between 1830 and 1860, particularly west of Pittsburgh (§ 451). Texas and the great Pacific territory had been added to it, giving the country an entirely new shape in the far West (§ 544). Even in the East there were large manufacturing cities, like Lowell and Paterson, which were not on most of the maps in 1830. In the West, there were many such cases. In 1830, the maps of the United States had no such cities as Chicago, Milwaukee, or San Francisco; and no such States as Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, Oregon, or Kansas: all these were the growth of thirty years, aided by the railroad.

590. Mineral Resources.—It had now been found that coal was not confined to two or three States; that there were great beds of it in most of the new States; and that this continent contained probably as much coal as all the rest of the world together. This is highly important, because so much work is done nowadays by machinery, which needs coal to run it. Gold was not confined to California: in 1858, it was found at Pike's Peak, in Colorado; and it has been found since in many other parts of the Rocky Mountains, from Idaho to New Mexico. In the same year was found a metal new to the United States: the Comstock lode of silver was discovered at

Virginia City, in Nevada;¹ and other mines were soon brought to light. Since then, it has been found that this Rocky Mountain region is rich in almost every kind of mineral. In 1859, wells sunk near Titusville, in north-western Pennsylvania, struck a vast underground bed of petroleum; and this at once became a new and large source of wealth. It seemed as if nature was generously pouring wealth into the lap of this fortunate people.

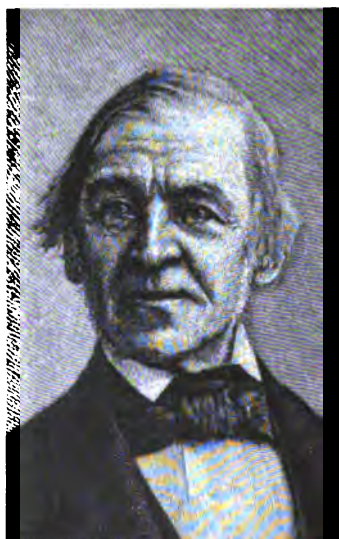
591. Patents.—The industry and acuteness of the people made good use of their opportunities, and were urged on by the patent system. Now that the country had grown so populous, a patent on a useful invention might be a source of great wealth, for it gave the inventor the profits from his invention for a number of years all over the country, and also, by treaties, in foreign countries. Thus the attention of the people was turned strongly to inventions; the inventions made it easier to produce wealth; and the new wealth urged on further invention.

592. American Literature had passed out of its childhood, and had grown into a vigorous life of its own. The writers who had appeared about 1830 (§ 458) had come to their full powers, and an increasing number of new men were at work with them. Of these new men, it is only possible here to name the historian Motley, the poet Lowell, and the philosopher Emerson. Much of the intellectual ability of the country was enlisted in the work of writing for the newspapers, which now numbered over 4,000, sending out nearly 1,000,000,000 copies a year. A single American magazine was now issuing 200,000 copies a month.

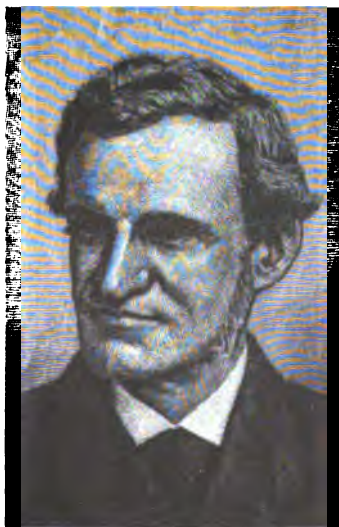
¹ The discoverer of the Comstock lode is said to have sold it for a few drinks of whiskey and a pony: it has since produced hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of silver.



JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.



RALPH WALDO EMERSON.



FRANCIS PARKMAN.



JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.

(To face p. 346.)

593. Public Schools and Education.—Public schools had become a great feature of the new republic, and for good reasons. Immigrants were entering the country in a great stream, and all of them who were adult males were allowed to vote after a short residence. If they were ignorant, it could not be helped, and voting was itself something of an education for them; but it was the business of the State to take care that the children of these immigrants should not grow up ignorant. Thus a great system of public schools had grown up since 1830 in every State. There were now about 110,000 of these in the whole country; and in them an army of 5,000,000 pupils were studying daily at State expense. In addition to these there were a great number of private schools, and over 200 colleges.

594. The Condition of the Country was everywhere different from its condition fifty years before. The farms were cultivated far more easily and profitably by improved machinery, worked by horses or by steam. New fertilizers, such as guano, were making old farms produce more. Log-cabins and shanties were disappearing, and comfortable houses were taking their place. The houses contained comforts and conveniences which the richest of men could not have bought fifty years before: gas, hot-air furnaces, sewing-machines, and inventions of every sort to save labor or trouble. There were now few villages so small that they were not near a railroad or a telegraph, by which their people could go or send easily and quickly to any part of the United States.

595. The Cities had increased in comforts as well as in population. The dwellings had grown larger, the stores richer, and the streets finer; and the cities themselves had taken very much the appearance which they still have, although they have since increased greatly in size, and

the invention of elevators has caused the erection of very much loftier buildings than were possible in 1860. Great water-works brought pure water from a distance, and distributed it through the cities. Great parks were opened, as breathing-places for the cities: New York City had just opened the finest of these, Central Park, and other cities were at work in the same direction. Public libraries, like the Astor Library in New York City, were appearing. Thirty years before, the "watchmen" had walked the streets at night with canes and lanterns, and there were hardly any arrangements to punish them for going to sleep or neglecting their duties. Now the new police system had been introduced, with officers to manage it and punish neglect or carelessness in the men.¹

(2) *Slavery and Politics.*

596. The South had not shared equally with the North in the prosperity of which the census of 1860 was so pleasant a picture. Plenty of money came into the South every year, for its cotton-crop of 1860 sold for about \$250,000,000; but the money seemed to do less good. It did not build up manufactures, railroads, colleges, schools, libraries, or the other signs of growth, as in the North. Land was worth much less at the South than at the North. All the commerce was in Northern vessels; and Charleston, which in 1800 was one of the busiest seaports on the Atlantic coast, now did hardly any business of its own. It was not to be expected that the Southern people would be satisfied with such a state of affairs: on the contrary, they were exceedingly dissatisfied, and

¹ This city police system is an English idea. It was introduced in London by Sir Robert Peel in 1829; and for this reason the policemen were at first often called "peelers."

sought long for the cause of their backwardness, and the remedy.

597. The Effects of Slavery.—The chief cause is now seen by every one to have been negro slavery, though the South could not see that in 1860. Slaves worked only because they were made to do so; they worked slowly, carelessly, and stupidly, and were fit for little better than to hoe cotton. In factories or on railroads they were of slight use. The rich whites did not need to work; and the poor whites did not wish to work, because they had grown up in the belief that work was a sign of slavery. Here was the real reason for the backwardness of the South, compared with the North. In the North there was a general race for work, and everything was in active motion. In the South there was no great number of persons who really wanted to work, and everything stood still.



KING COTTON.

598. The Territories.—The South, in 1860, could only see that everything was going wrong. It was growing poorer as the North grew richer, and weaker as the North grew stronger. Five new free States had been admitted since Texas, the last slave State, had entered the Union; a sixth, Kansas, was demanding admission; and others were evidently coming soon. Every new free State made the South less influential in both branches of Congress; and, as States are formed from Territories, the South came to believe that any refusal to allow slavery in the

Territories was intended to make the South less important still.

599. The Supreme Court of the United States is the body to which is given the power to decide whether the laws passed by Congress are such as the Constitution allows Congress to pass. If it decides that the law in question was not permitted by the Constitution, the law is said to be unconstitutional, and need not be obeyed, for the other courts will not punish those who disobey it. In 1820, Congress had forbidden slavery in the Louisiana purchase, outside of Missouri (§ 418); but for nearly forty years no case had required the Supreme Court to decide whether this law of 1820 was constitutional or not. Finally, one Dred Scott, a Missouri slave, who had been taken by his owner into the territory in which slavery had been forbidden, brought suit to be declared free. The case came at last before the Supreme Court, and was decided in 1857.

600. The Dred Scott Decision sustained the Southern view of slavery in the Territories. The Supreme Court decided that negro slaves were not considered by the Constitution as persons, but as property; that the object of the Constitution was to protect property; that a slave-owner had as much right to take his slaves as to take his cattle from one State to another, or to the Territories; and that Congress had no power to forbid slavery in the Territories.

601. Effects of the Decision.—The Dred Scott decision was not to end the matter, for the North refused to accept it. It was believed there that negro slaves were considered by the Constitution as "persons held to labor," and not as property; and that they were property only by State law. The only effects of the decision were to make the South more certain that it was right, and to make

the North exceedingly angry with the Supreme Court itself.

602. The Democratic Party, up to this time, had generally controlled the Union, and the South had generally controlled the Democratic party. Now most of the Northern Democrats began to hold back. If they did as Southern Democrats wished them to do, and accepted the Dred Scott decision, they could not expect to carry any more elections in the North. Some of them joined the Republican party. Most of them, with Douglas, tried to show that the Dred Scott decision did not mean all that the Southern Democrats said it meant. And so the slavery question, which had split almost everything else, was now splitting the Democratic party also (§ 571).

603. The Fear of Negro Insurrection was always dreadful to a Southerner, for it meant the greatest of dangers to his wife, his children, and all that was dear to him. No general insurrection ever took place, but the people of the South were always on guard against it, day and night. Fifty years before, when slavery was but a little thing, John Randolph, of Virginia, said that, when the fire-bell rang at night in a Southern city, every mother trembled for her children. In 1859, there were 4,000,000 slaves in the South, and the idea of a general uprising was naturally far more frightful.

604. John Brown's Raid.—John Brown had been one of the free-State leaders in the Kansas troubles, and had grown to have a religious hatred of slavery. In 1859, with a few associates, he seized the town of Harper's Ferry, which contained the United States arsenal. He intended to carry the arms off to the mountains near by, and use them to arm the slaves. The telegraph sent the news through the South, and for a few days a wild excitement followed. Regular troops and Maryland and Vir-

ginia militia soon captured or shot the party; and Brown himself, with the survivors, was hanged by the State of Virginia. But the South had been too much startled to be easily quieted; and there was a strong feeling of anger that the "raid" should have been planned in the North.

(3) *Sectional Division.*

605. Sectional Division.—Slavery had by this time set the two sections, North and South, completely against one another. It had arrayed them in successive conflicts with one another until there seemed to be no escape from the last and worst of conflicts. Men have tried to find explanations of this opposition in differences of climate, character, and blood; but there is not one of these cases of opposition which is not more easily explained by the treacherous influences of slavery. If Southern leaders opposed a protective tariff (§ 436), it was rather because slavery prevented manufactures in the South than because they were really fond of free trade. If they supported State sovereignty eagerly (§ 475), it was because slavery was protected by State laws and power.

606. The Feeling in the South in 1860 was that the North had not behaved in a kindly manner. The complaints were that nearly all the free States had voted for candidates of their own at the last election; that they had resisted the Fugitive-Slave Law; that they had tried to abolish slavery in the Territories; that they had begun a struggle with the South for the control of Kansas; that they had refused to accept the Dred Scott decision; and that they had sent John Brown on his raid against the South. Much of this was unjust, though part of it was true, for the whole current of events, and the Northern

current of feeling, were running hard against slavery, which the South defended. But it was not yet believed in the South that these complaints were enough to justify war.

607. The Feeling in the North.—People in the North were generally too busy to lay any plans against slavery. The Abolitionists (§ 462) had long desired that the slaveholding States should secede and rid the country of the guilt of slavery; but the Abolitionists were still few in number. The great mass of the Northern people had gradually come to believe that the South liked slavery altogether too well; but they were perfectly willing to leave the Southern States to regulate the matter for themselves. Their principal complaint had been that the solemn agreement, called the Missouri Compromise, had been broken (§ 574); but this had failed to carry slavery into the Territories, for Kansas was now practically a free State. The only remaining grievance was the Dred Scott decision; and if that was to be carried into effect, Congress was to *protect* slavery in the Territories. This was what most of the Southern leaders now demanded, and what the Northern people would certainly never consent to do.

608. Parties in 1860.—The Democratic party, in 1860, split into a Northern and a Southern section; and the Republican party and the former American party also made nominations. In this election there were thus at work four parties. The Republican party nominated Abraham Lincoln (§ 620), and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for President and Vice-President. Their "platform," or declaration of principles, declared that it was the right and the duty of Congress to *forbid* slavery in the Territories. The Southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane, of Oregon. Their

platform declared that it was the right and the duty of Congress to *protect* slavery in the Territories, whenever a slave-owner took his slaves thither. The Northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia. Their platform declared that they still believed that the people of each Territory ought to control the matter of slavery in that Territory; but that they were willing to submit to the decision of the Supreme Court. The American party nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. Their platform declared that they wished only for "the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws." This was not intended to mean much, except that its Southern supporters did not wish to go to war in defence of slavery in the Territories, and wanted the slavery question dropped out of politics.

609. The Presidential Election in 1860 resulted in the success of the Republicans. No candidates had a majority of the popular vote; but Lincoln and Hamlin, who had received the largest popular vote, received a majority of the electoral votes also, and were elected.¹

(4) *Secession.*

610. South Carolina seems to have been the only Southern State which was really anxious to escape from

¹ Lincoln and Hamlin received 180 electoral votes; Breckinridge and Lane, 72; Bell and Everett, 39; and Douglas and Johnson, 12. The popular vote for Douglas was next largest to that for Lincoln, but he carried only Missouri and three electoral votes in New Jersey. Lincoln received all the electoral votes of the free States, except those of New Jersey, which were cast for Douglas. Bell carried Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and Breckinridge all the other slave States except those three and Missouri.







1860]

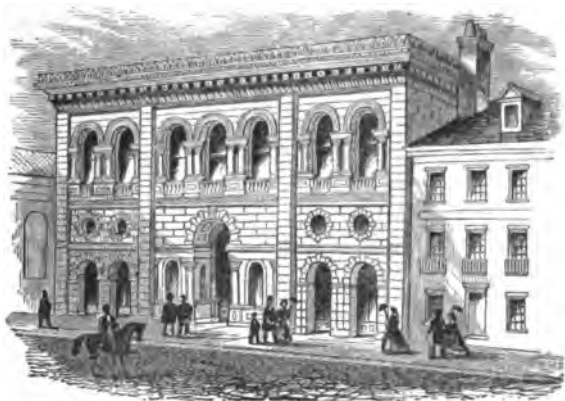
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the Union. As soon as Lincoln's election was made certain, this State called a State convention, which passed an "ordinance of secession," December 20, 1860. It



SECESSION HALL.

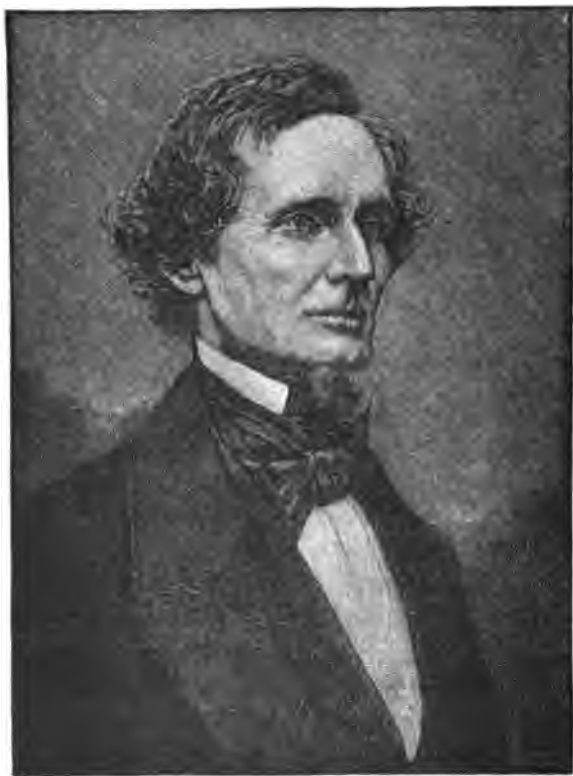
declared that the Union between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, was at an end; and that South Carolina was now independent. The State then made ready for war.

611. The Secessionists.—Secession was considered a right of the States by most of the Southern States; but in other States than South Carolina the people do not seem to have wished to leave the Union. They did not wish to secede, though they believed in their right to do so. But there was a class of secessionists in every Southern State who wished to try it at once, for they knew that in a few years the North would be so much stronger that it would be altogether impossible to secede, and the right of secession would be gone forever. They were not a majority, but were active and influential.



SECESSION COCKADE

612. Arguments for Secession.—In other States than South Carolina the secessionists usually urged two arguments for secession. The first was that it would be dis-



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

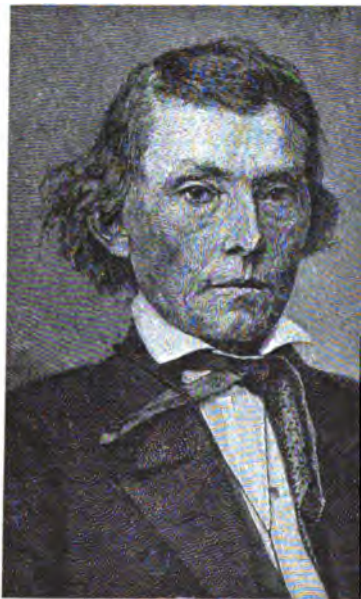
graceful to leave South Carolina to stand alone, and that the other slave States ought to support her. Their second and stronger argument was that they did not intend to leave the Union altogether, but that they could "make

better terms out of the Union than in it." They argued that the North was growing very strong and very much opposed to slavery and to the South; that now was the time to secede and compel the North to give security for future good behavior; and that then all the States could come quietly and kindly back to the Union. The radical secessionists never intended to follow out any such plan: they only wished to persuade the voters to call State conventions, whose action would bind the State.

613. The Other Southern States.—In six other Southern States, the argument above given induced a majority of the voters to elect State conventions, which passed ordinances of secession. In this manner the States of Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana seceded in January, 1861; and Texas did the same in February. This was the first "area of Secession": it now consisted of the seven cotton States, those lying south of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

614.* The Confederate States.—The secessionists had the game in their own hands when they obtained control of the State conventions; and they at once went on to do what they had intended to do from the beginning. Without asking any permission from the voters, the State conventions sent delegates to Montgomery, in Alabama, and the delegates there formed a new government under the name of the Confederate States of America. They elected Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens President and Vice-President. Jefferson Davis was a graduate of West Point, but had left the army and become a cotton-planter in Mississippi. He had commanded a Mississippi rifle-regiment in the Mexican war, and subsequently, as a Democrat, served in the United States Senate from 1847 to 1851, and from 1857 to 1861, and as Secretary of War during Pierce's administration, 1853-7. Alexander H.

Stephens had been a member of the House of Representatives from 1843 to 1859, joining the Democratic party in



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

1850. He was strongly opposed to secession in 1860; but when Georgia seceded, he "went with his State." The convention also adopted a constitution and flag, both much like those of the United States; and took steps to form an army and navy.

615. The Doctrine of State Sovereignty thus put every man in the South on the wrong side, and kept him there. Southern voters had given their State conventions power to speak for their States; and, even

when the whole purpose of the secessionists became plain, the voters felt bound to "follow their State" (§ 475). Thus the voters of six States, without having a word to say in the matter, were made subjects of an illegal government; and they were thus fraudulently bound to defend it, though it could only exist by warring on the United States.

616. Affairs in the South were all in favor of the secessionists. Even before the different States seceded, their authorities seized the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, ships, custom-houses, mints, and other property of the United States. Wherever there were any United States soldiers, they were surrounded and forced to surrender. As soon

as a State seceded, its citizens who were in the service of the United States resigned their commissions and took service, first under the State, and then under the Confederacy. Officers of the army from seceding States generally resigned: a few, like Scott, held to the Union. Officers in the navy did not so generally go with their States: some of the foremost naval officers of the United States, like Farragut, were Southerners. Thus, at the bombardment of the forts at Port Royal, in South Carolina (§ 636), two of the gunboat-captains were South Carolinians; and one of them, Captain Drayton, was firing on his own brother, who commanded the forts. With the exception of Andrew Johnson, Senator from Tennessee, Senators and Representatives from seceding States resigned and went home. Within sixty days, the authority of the United States was paralyzed in seven States of the Union. Two of the Supreme Court justices were from seceding States; but they held to the Union, and gave no countenance to secession.

617. Fort Sumter.—In all the South there were saved only the forts near Key West, Fort Pickens at Pensacola, and Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. Early in 1861, the South Carolina authorities began to build forts and batteries to attack Fort Sumter; and when a steamer, the *Star of the West*, was sent to carry supplies to it, in January, they fired on her and drove her back. This state of affairs continued until the end of Buchanan's term of office, in March, 1861. Major Anderson, commanding Fort Sumter, was not allowed by his government to fire on the forts around him, and they did not allow supplies to be brought to him by sea.

618. The Federal Policy.—The Federal Government, meantime, did nothing. Congress was in session during the winter; but it spent its time in talking about new

proposals for compromise. The President was anxious to avoid doing anything except to keep the peace until the end of his term. The departments at Washington contained many clerks who were secessionists, and who gave early and useful information to the Southern leaders. Seven States had wiped out the authority of the government within their limits, and had formed a new government of their own. Between them and the Federal Government was a wall of border States, not willing to secede, and yet not willing to see the seceding States brought back into the Union by force. Affairs were in this dismal condition when Buchanan's term ended, and Lincoln was inaugurated, March 4, 1861.

619. The Leading Events of Buchanan's administration were as follows:

1857: Dred Scott decision.....	\$ 600
Panic of 1857.....	585
Mormon troubles.....	586
1858: Minnesota admitted.....	587
Gold discovered in Colorado.....	590
Silver discovered in Nevada.....	590
1859: Oregon admitted.....	587
Petroleum discovered in Pennsylvania.....	590
John Brown's raid.....	604
1860: Lincoln elected President.....	609
South Carolina secedes (December 20).....	610
1861: Six other States secede.....	613
Steamer <i>Star of the West</i> fired on (January 9)....	617
The Confederate States formed (February 4).....	614
Kansas admitted.....	587

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. The admission of Kansas.
2. Slave insurrections.
3. John Brown's raid.
4. Lincoln's opinions on slavery.
5. Comparative resources of the North and the South, from the point of view of war between the sections.

6. The grievances of the South.
7. Was secession voluntary?

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—MacDonald's *Select Documents* gives a summary of the Dred Scott decision (No. 91), extracts from the Lecompton constitution (No. 92), the three important compromise propositions (Nos. 93, 95, and 96), the South Carolina ordinance of secession (No. 94), and the constitution of the Confederate States (No. 97). Cooper's *American Politics*, bk. 1., gives many documents relating to slavery and secession.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The principal authorities are the same as in Chap. XVII., with the addition, for the Southern side, of Helper's *Impending Crisis*, Stephens's *War between the States*, Jefferson Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, and Pollard's *Lost Cause*. The *American Annual Cyclopædia* for 1861 is especially valuable for reference.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—Longfellow's *Poems on Slavery*; Whittier's *Antislavery Poems*; H. B. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; T. N. Page's *Social Life in Old Virginia* and *The Old South*; M. E. Seawell's *Children of Destiny*.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER XIX

THE WAR FOR THE UNION

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION: 1861-65

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Ill., President.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN, Me., Vice-President.

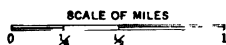
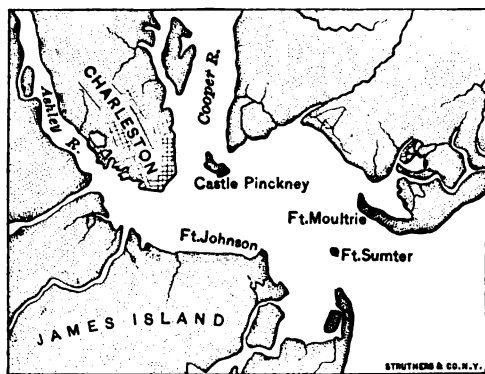
(1) *Events of 1861.*

620. Abraham Lincoln is the central figure of this period. Born in Kentucky, February 12, 1809, of poor parents, he emigrated with them to Indiana, and thence to Illinois, where he found work as a farm-hand, rail-splitter, and Mississippi boatman. By hard work and perseverance, he educated himself, became a lawyer, and served as Representative in Congress (Whig), 1847-49. In 1858, he was nominated by the Republicans for United States Senator against Douglas. A series of joint debates between the candidates, on the issues of the campaign, attracted attention throughout the country; and, though Illinois was then a Democratic State, Douglas, the leader of the Democrats in the North, barely escaped defeat. To the masses of the voters outside of Illinois, however, Lincoln was still little known; and when he was elected President there was a very wide belief in the North that the "rail-splitter" was a reckless and dangerous man. In the South, it was even believed that he was a mulatto (and Hamlin a full-blooded negro), elected as an insult to the South. It was not until his death that people

began to see that he was one of the wisest, greatest, and most kind-hearted men of history, who loved one section as well as he did the other, and his whole country more than either.

621. The New Administration began under every sort of difficulty. The seven Gulf, or cotton, States were altogether hostile. The slave States north of them were opposed to forcing the seceded States to return. Nobody felt quite certain that even the Northern States would go to war to preserve the Union. President Lincoln and his Cabinet were all new men, without experience in managing the Federal Government; and this general uncertainty added greatly to their difficulties.

622. Fort Sumter (§ 617) was almost ready to surrender when Lincoln became President, March 4, 1861, for its garrison had hardly any provisions left. Early in April,



FORT SUMTER AND CHARLESTON HARBOR.

the President ordered a fleet to leave New York for Charleston, carrying provisions for the fort. As soon as this became known, the Confederate batteries were ordered

to attack the fort. After a heavy fire of thirty hours, the ammunition in the fort was almost exhausted, and its wooden buildings were on fire; and Major Anderson surrendered the fort and garrison with the honors of war (April 13). No one was killed on either side during the fire; but one Federal soldier was killed, and several



FORT SUMTER.

wounded, by the explosion of a gun with which the garrison was saluting the flag before leaving for New York. The fleet returned to the North, having been unable to give any assistance.

623. Washington and Baltimore.—In the North and West, the news of the fall of Fort Sumter roused an excitement such as had not been known there since the Revolution against Great Britain. Political differences were dropped, and the whole people was united in support of the government. When the President called for 75,000 volunteer soldiers (April 15), to put down the rebellion, four times as many responded. Money and help of every kind were offered in great abundance by States and private persons; and every effort was made to put the city of Washington, the national capital, into a condition of security. Washington was at first a very

unsafe place for the government, for it was so near the Confederate States that it was exposed to immediate attack. Soldiers at once began to gather for its defence. To reach it, they had to pass through Baltimore, where the secessionists were then very strong. Here, in a street-fight between a Massachusetts regiment and the mob which was trying to stop its march, the first blood of the war was shed, on April 19, the anniversary of the fight at Lexington (§ 181). Other regiments passed by water from Havre de Grace on the Susquehanna through Annapolis, and Washington was soon made secure.

624. In the South the excitement was as great as in the North, and the people were now as much united. Even those who had not wished to secede did not believe that the government had any right to force the seceding States back into the Union. When the Confederate Government called for 35,000 volunteer soldiers, several times the number offered themselves.

625. Civil War had fairly begun. President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the Southern ports; that is, he forbade all vessels to enter or leave them, or to engage in commerce with them.¹ The Confederate Government then issued "letters of marque," that is, permission to private persons to capture merchant-vessels belonging to the United States; and the Confederate Congress declared war against the United States. There was thus a difference between the parties to the war. The Confederate States claimed to be an independent nation, at war with the United States. The United States Government refused to recognize the existence of the Confederate

¹ The United States Government had at first but three vessels with which to enforce the blockade; but others were rapidly bought or built, and the navy soon became very large (§ 746). Other calls were made for soldiers, and before July 200,000 men were under arms.

Government, or to consider its people as anything else than rebellious citizens.

626. The Border States, between the Gulf States and the free States, did not desire to secede; but they generally believed that the Gulf States had a right to secede if they wished to do so, and that the government of the United States had no right to force them back into the Union. When they received President Lincoln's call for volunteers to force the seceding States back into the Union, the southern row of border States, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, refused to obey it, seceded, and joined the Confederacy. In the Northern row of border States, only Virginia seceded. There were many secessionists in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri; but the Union men were in the majority, and held their States to the support of the government. In Kentucky the State officers at first tried to be neutral, but the people forced them to support the government. In Missouri the State officers were open secessionists, but the Union majority of the people rose in arms, and, after some hard fighting, drove them out of the State. In Delaware there were hardly any secessionists: but in all the other border States there were many persons who went into the Confederate army. The people of the western part of Virginia refused to recognize the secession of their State, and later formed a separate State, under the name of West Virginia (§ 694).

627. Foreign Nations generally considered it impossible for the United States to put down so extensive a rebellion, and believed that there would in future be two nations where the United States had been. They were not yet inclined to recognize the Confederate States as an independent nation, for it was known that the United States would declare war against any country which should do so.

Instead of doing so, they recognized the Confederate States as a belligerent power, that is, a power entitled to make war and have war-vessels.¹ This gave Confederate cruisers the right to take refuge in foreign harbors. These vessels at first escaped from Southern ports through the blockade, but were not very successful. Little damage was done to American commerce until Confederate agents began secretly to build swift vessels in Great Britain (§ 672).

628. The Confederate States, in June, 1861, were eleven in number: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. As soon as Virginia seceded, their capital was changed from Montgomery to Richmond. Their troops poured into eastern Virginia, which was to be the great battle-ground of the war, and held an irregular curved line from Harper's Ferry to Norfolk. They also had troops in the mountains of western Virginia, to repel attacks from Ohio. They moved troops into southern Kentucky to defend Tennessee. They had built many batteries along the Mississippi, so as to stop navigation on that river; and they were busily building forts along the coast of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, for protection against the blockading fleets. The whole Confederacy was thus soon surrounded by a line of defences.

629. The Federal Troops were at first under the command of General Scott. They held the eastern side of the Potomac, from Harper's Ferry to Fortress Monroe, and that small part of the western side which is directly opposite Washington. Of the other parts of the exposed country, they attempted only to hold Kentucky and

¹ Great Britain recognized the Confederate States as belligerents in May, 1861, and other nations shortly followed the example.

lan had crossed the Ohio River with a force of Western troops. McClellan was a



GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

graduate of West Point, and had been a captain in the Mexican war, but had retired from the army after the war, and engaged in business until 1861, when he took charge of the Ohio volunteers. He first secured the country along the river, and then moved into the mountains between eastern and western Virginia. Here he beat the enemy in the battle of Rich Mountain and in several other battles; and before the

end of the month, the Confederates were driven out of West Virginia. In September, the Confederate General Robert E. Lee attempted to reconquer the lost ground, but he was beaten back by McClellan's successor, General Rosecrans.

631. Congress.—The regular meeting-time of Congress was not to come until December. But President Lincoln had been compelled, in taking steps to defend the country, to do many things for which no laws had been passed; and he wished to have Congress in session to provide for such matters in future. He called a special session for July 4. It voted to consider nothing but war business, appropriated \$500,000,000 for war expenses, authorized the President to call out 500,000 volunteers,

and gave him all powers necessary to carry on the war.

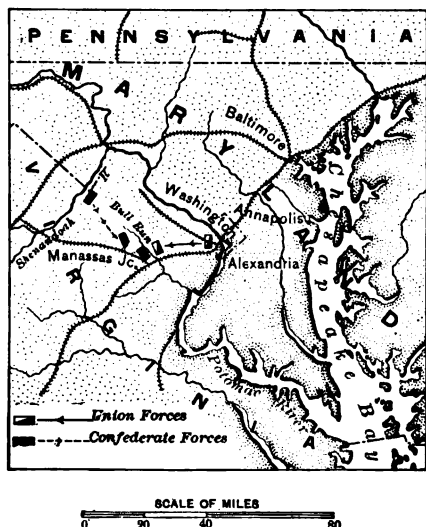
632. Bull Run.—The successes in West Virginia made the Northern people anxious for an attack on Richmond, and Scott gave an unwilling consent. The road from Washington to Richmond is crossed, about 35 miles from Washington, by a little stream called Bull Run. At Manassas Junction, further south, the Confederate army was posted under General P. G. T. Beauregard. The advancing Union army, under General Irvin McDowell, reached Bull Run (July 21), passed the stream successfully, and defeated a great part of Beauregard's army, which had advanced to meet it. In the afternoon, before the battle was decided, the Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston brought up a fresh army from the Shenandoah valley. The half-drilled Union army became panic-stricken, and fled in wild disorder to Washington. The enemy was in no condition to pursue.¹

633. The Army of the Potomac.—On the day after the battle of Bull Run, General McClellan was called from West Virginia to command the army of the Potomac. In November, Scott was compelled by old age to give up the command of all the Union armies to McClellan, who set to work to drill and organize the Army of the Potomac, and before the end of the year it numbered 150,000 well-trained soldiers. No general advance was attempted, but the Confederate line was gradually pushed back from near Washington to its first position near Bull Run. The Confederate armies in Virginia were also increased and drilled. Both armies were busily fortifying their capitals, so that Richmond and Washington were

¹ The forces were at first about equal, 30,000 on each side. Johnston brought in about 10,000 fresh men in his army. The Confederate loss was 2,000; the Union loss, 3,000.

soon surrounded by long lines of forts, equipped with heavy cannon.

634. Ball's Bluff.—In October a part of the Union forces, 2,000 in number, crossed the Potomac at Ball's



Bluff, between Washington and Harper's Ferry. They were cut off by a heavier force of the enemy and defeated.¹

635. In Missouri, General Nathaniel Lyon was at first in command of the Union forces. He was an energetic and able officer, and soon controlled all the central and northern part of the State. In the southern part, the Confederates were receiving reinforcements from Arkansas and Texas; and, when Lyon moved forward to attack them, he was defeated and killed in the hard-fought battle of Wilson's Creek, near Springfield (August 10).

¹ Senator E. D. Baker, of Oregon, who had become a general in the army, was among the killed.

In October, General John C. Frémont, who had organized the army anew, moved forward again toward Springfield; but, before a battle took place, he was removed, and



ULYSSES S. GRANT.

General Henry W. Halleck took command. Without any great battle, he gradually during the year drove the enemy out of Missouri. In November, General Ulysses S. Grant, in command of some Illinois troops, moved

down the Mississippi from Cairo, Ill., to Belmont, Mo. He destroyed a Confederate camp, but was then again attacked and compelled to retreat to his gunboats.

636. On the Coast.—In August, 1861, a naval force, with troops on board, under Commodore Stringham and General Benjamin F. Butler, captured Hatteras Inlet and its fort. From this point attacks were made on the neighboring coast of North Carolina. In November, a still larger expedition from Fortress Monroe, under Commodore Dupont and General W. T. Sherman, captured Port Royal. There were 76 war-vessels and transports, and 15,000 soldiers. The war-vessels drove the enemy out of the forts, and then the army took possession of them. From this point the neighboring islands between Charleston and Savannah were captured. In September, the Union fleet took possession of Ship Island, near the mouth of the Mississippi, in preparation for an expedition the next year against New Orleans.

637. Military Summary.—During the year there had been serious land-campaigns in but two States, Virginia and Missouri. The two important battles of the year were Bull Run and Wilson's Creek, in both of which the Union forces had been beaten. In the smaller battles, with the exception of McClellan's successes in West Virginia, the Confederates had also generally been successful. The people of the North and West had been so long at peace that it took them some time to learn how to make war. On the other hand, the Union forces had saved three great States, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, part of another, West Virginia, and the national capital, Washington. They had formed a vast army and navy out of nothing, and had walled in the whole Confederacy with besieging lines. They had secured, in Hatteras Inlet, Port Royal, and Ship Island, good harbors for their

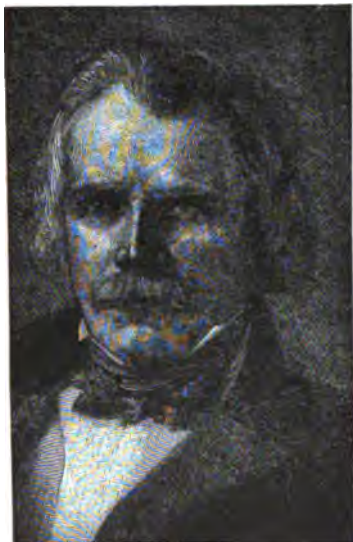
blockading fleets, and points of attack on the neighboring territory. Above all, the manufactories of the North and West were in active operation, commerce with foreign countries was free, wealth was increasing, and preparations for the next year's campaigns were encouraging. The Confederacy had no commerce, few manufactories, and could only depend on the fighting power of its men and the natural strength of its territory.

638. Foreign Affairs.—In November, a United States war-vessel, the *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, stopped an English mail-steamer, the *Trent*, in the West Indies, and took off two of her passengers, Mason and Slidell. They were Confederate commissioners to Europe, who had run the blockade to Havana, and there taken passage to England. This right to stop and search neutral vessels on the ocean had always been claimed by England as a war right, and had led to the War of 1812 (§ 344). The United States, as in 1812, denied any such right, repudiated the action of Wilkes, and gave up the commissioners to Great Britain. But, for the moment, there seemed to be a probability of war with Great Britain; for the British Government sent troops and war-vessels to Canada, and used harsh language in demanding the commissioners. Thus, though the American Government maintained its own principles in giving up the commissioners, the American people had for some time a sore and angry feeling that Great Britain had not behaved well in the matter.

(2) *Events of 1862.*

639. In the West.—The year 1862 was notable in the West for the first great success of the general who was to end the war, Ulysses S. Grant. The severe fighting of the year began in Kentucky and Tennessee. The Con-

federates held a line running through southern Kentucky, from Columbus to Mill Spring, through Bowling Green; and in Tennessee, near the northern boundary-line, they had built two strong forts, Fort Henry, on the



ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON.

Tennessee, and Fort Donelson, 12 miles distant, on the Cumberland. The whole line was commanded by General Albert Sidney Johnston. Against him were two Union armies. The larger, under General Don Carlos Buell, was in central Kentucky, arranged into a number of divisions and considerably scattered. The smaller, under Grant, was at Cairo. All the forces under Buell, numbered over 100,000; those under Grant, about 15,000.

640. Federal Advance. — In January, a division of Buell's forces, under General George H. Thomas, was attacked near Mill Springs. The Confederates were defeated and their commander, General Zollicoffer, was killed. The main body of Confederates shortly after withdrew from Kentucky. From Cairo Grant moved up the Tennessee River toward Fort Henry. Before he could reach it, it had been captured by the fleet of gunboats, under Commodore Andrew H. Foote, which had accompanied the army up the river. A large part of the garrison of Fort Henry had escaped by land to Fort Donelson. Grant's army followed, besieged Fort Donel-

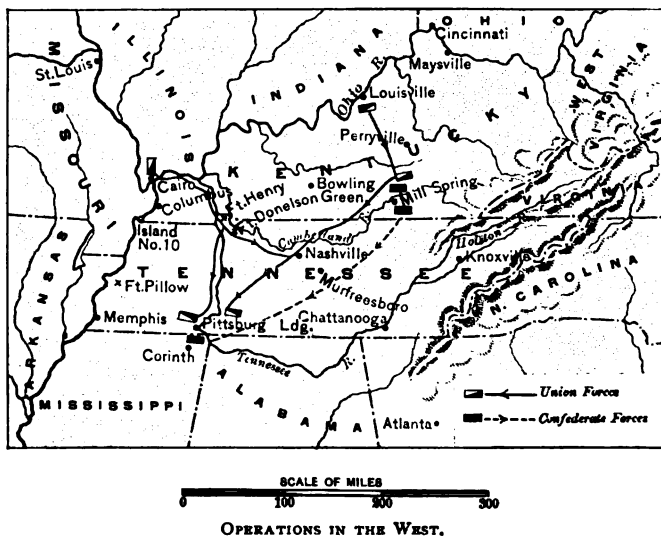
son, and captured it (February 16) after very hard fighting. The prisoners numbered about 14,000.

641. The Effect of these victories was to break up the whole Confederate line and push it far back into Tennessee. Columbus and other points in Kentucky were evacuated, for fear their garrisons should be cut off by the advancing Union armies. Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, was occupied by Federal troops; and, as all the State authorities had left it, President Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson (§ 751) military governor of Tennessee. Grant's army was increased to 40,000 men, and sent on steamboats up the Tennessee River. It encamped at Pittsburg Landing, on the west side of the Tennessee River, in the southern part of Tennessee; and Buell's army was hurried forward, up the eastern side of the river, to join it.

642. Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh.—Before Buell could reach Grant, Johnston had gathered all his forces to strike the camp at Pittsburg Landing. His attack was made early in the morning (April 6), and was at first successful. The Union forces had no suspicion that an enemy was near when the Confederate line burst on them from the woods and by night had forced them back to the river. Here the gunboats drove the enemy back by a heavy fire of shells, and gave the Union forces time to rally. During the afternoon and night, about 20,000 of Buell's fresh troops reached Grant; Johnston had been killed during the battle; and the next morning the Union forces advanced and drove the Confederates off the field. This was the first of the great battles of the war. It is often called the battle of Shiloh, from the name of the little church around which the heaviest fighting took place.¹

¹ The Union forces engaged were 57,000, and their loss 13,000. The Confederate forces were 40,000, and their loss 11,000.

643. Corinth, in Mississippi, was now an important point to be secured by the Union forces, because of the number of railroads which centred there. The Confederates had fortified it strongly, and it was expected that Beauregard, who had succeeded Johnston, would defend it. General Halleck was now in command of the Union forces, and he slowly pushed his way so near to



Corinth that Beauregard evacuated it (May 30), and retired southward. Here the Union advance stopped for a time. It had opened up the Mississippi from Cairo to Memphis, and the Union line now ran along the southern boundary of Tennessee.

644. Bragg's Raid.—General Braxton Bragg now took Beauregard's place. In August he quietly moved the larger part of his army eastward until he had passed the Union line, and then struck north for Kentucky. Buell, who was also moving eastward toward Chattanooga,

hastened northward with a weaker army, and reached Louisville ahead of Bragg. For over a month the Confederates remained in Kentucky, plundering the country. Then they turned back to the southward, finding the Kentucky people loyal to the Union. Both armies had been largely reinforced, and Buell pursued. He overtook Bragg at Perryville, and an indecisive battle was fought. The Confederates succeeded in carrying off their long trains of plunder to Chattanooga, while the Union army took post at Nashville.

645. Murfreesboro.—After leaving its booty at Chattanooga, the Confederate army moved northwest about half the distance to Nashville, and erected fortifications at Murfreesboro. General William S. Rosecrans had taken Buell's place in command at Nashville. In December he set out, with about 40,000 men, to attack Murfreesboro. Before he had quite reached it, Bragg suddenly attacked him, with about an equal number of men, and one of the bloodiest battles of the war followed, lasting three days. It is sometimes called the battle of Stone River, from a shallow stream which flowed between the armies. The Confederates had the advantage in the first day's fighting (December 31), but lost it in the next two days. In the end they slowly left the field and retired for a few miles, while the Union troops were unable to pursue. Both armies then went into winter quarters, each watching the other.¹

646. Grant and Sherman.—All this time, Grant was left in command at Corinth, almost in idleness, though he repulsed two attacks of the enemy. Toward the end of the year, he made a first attempt to reach Vicksburg; but the Confederate cavalry swept in, in the rear of his army, destroyed the supplies which he had collected, and

¹ The Union loss was about 14,000; the Confederate loss, about 11,000.

compelled him to return. All this was a discouraging lack of success for Grant. It was balanced, however, by the close friendship which he had already formed for General William T. Sherman. From this time the names of Grant and Sherman are as closely connected as those of Lee and Jackson on the other side.

647. Across the Mississippi there was little severe fighting this year. In March, a battle was fought at Pea Ridge, near the northwestern boundary of Arkansas, and the Confederates were defeated. For a time there were hardly any Confederate armies in Missouri and Arkansas; but there was a great deal of guerrilla fighting, that is, attacks upon small parties of Union troops by armed men who were not regular soldiers or under any military control.

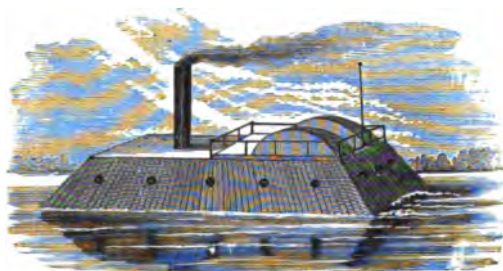
648. The Western Gunboats had done a great deal of the year's fighting. They were of a different appearance from



WESTERN GUNBOATS.

ocean gunboats, many of them having been made by covering the sides of river-steamboats with iron plates or rails. Sometimes a beak or ram was added at the bow. While the Union armies were forcing their way across Kentucky and Tennessee, the gunboat fleet gave them great assistance by controlling the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, capturing Confederate batteries, and even

taking an active part in the battles. At Pittsburgh Landing, the gunboats threw shells over the Union army into the Confederate ranks, and thus checked the advance. Before Bragg's raid took place, the gunboats had fought two successful battles with the Confederate gunboats on the Mississippi River, and had cleared that river of the



CONFEDERATE RAM.

enemy as far south as Vicksburgh. The strongest resistance made by the Confederates was at Island Number Ten, near New Madrid. They fortified it, and defended it for nearly a month; but in the end the garrison surrendered.

ON THE COAST.

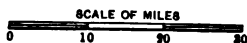
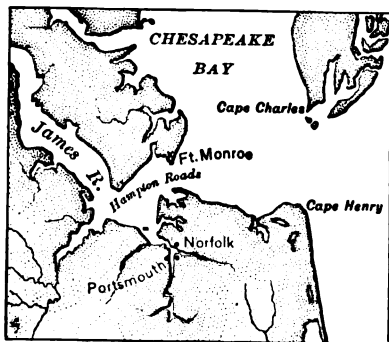
649. Ironclad Vessels had as yet hardly been used on the ocean. Great Britain and France had built such vessels as experiments, but they had never been tried in war. At Norfolk the Confederates had been turning the frigate *Merrimac*, which they had captured in the navy yard there in 1861, into an ironclad ram. They called her the *Virginia*, but she was better known by her original name, the *Merrimac*. At New York, Captain John Ericsson (§ 447) had also been building an ironclad vessel, which he called the *Monitor*.

650. The **Merrimac** was finished early in the year. She sailed out (March 8) from Norfolk into Hampton Roads, where there was a fleet of five of the finest vessels then in the United States navy, besides a number of smaller vessels. The battle was soon over, for the Federal fleet could do nothing with the *Merrimac*. They poured on her a storm of heavy shot, but these bounded harmlessly from her iron roof. She rammed and sunk the *Cumberland*, chased the others into shallow water, and there fired at them at her pleasure. Before she could finish the work,



JOHN ERICSSON.

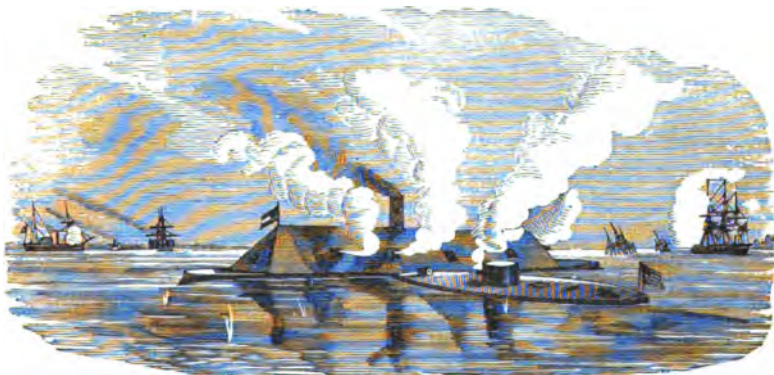
it became dark. When she went back to Norfolk for the night, there was apparently nothing to stop her from sailing to Washington the next morning or along the Atlantic coast. The blockade and the great Eastern cities were at the mercy of the monster, and the telegraph carried the alarming news



everywhere.

651. The **Monitor** unexpectedly arrived in Hampton

Roads two hours after the *Merrimac* went back to Norfolk, and while the alarm was at its highest. No one expected much from her, for she looked far smaller and weaker than the *Merrimac*. When the *Merrimac* sailed out into Hampton Roads the next morning, to finish her work, the little *Monitor* moved out between her and the wooden frigates, and a desperate combat followed. After four hours of firing and ramming, neither vessel was seriously injured; but the *Merrimac* could do nothing with her



THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC.

antagonist. Finally, she gave up the fight and steamed back to Norfolk, from which she never again came out (§ 659). The telegraph carried the joyful news everywhere that "the *Monitor* had whipped the *Merrimac*," and the danger was over. The events of these two days proved that the day of wooden war-vessels was past. The Federal Government soon had a number of monitors afloat, sufficient to defend the whole coast. The Confederates also began to build ironclads, in order to break the blockade. Other nations at once began to give up wooden ships and form ironclad navies, so that this fight in Hampton Roads had the effect of changing the navies of the world.

652. On the Coast there were further Union successes. In February, a great naval expedition, under Commodore Goldsborough and General Ambrose E. Burnside, captured Roanoke Island, the scene of Raleigh's colonies (§ 23). Soon afterward, St. Augustine and several other places in Florida were captured by troops from Port Royal; and Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah River, was besieged and captured. These captures made the work of the blockading vessels much easier, for most of the good harbors on the Atlantic coast were now in the hands of the Union forces. Charleston and Wilmington were almost the only good harbors left for blockade-runners.

653. New Orleans was a place of great importance to the Confederates, for while they held it they controlled the lower Mississippi. Thirty miles above the mouth of the



miles above the mouth of the river were two strong forts, Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on opposite sides of the river, each mounted with heavy guns. Across the river between them six heavy chains were stretched, supported by a great raft of cypress logs, so that the river was completely closed. Behind the

raft there were thirteen gunboats, an ironclad floating battery, a ram, and fire-rafts to burn an enemy's vessels. Between the forts and New Orleans there were many batteries along the river-banks, and in the city there was an army of about 10,000 men.

654. A Naval Expedition against New Orleans, under Commodore David G. Farragut and General Benjamin F.

Butler, sailed from Hampton Roads in February for Ship Island (§ 636). Here the troops, 15,000 in number,



DAVID G. FARRAGUT.

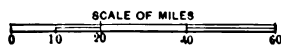
landed, until the navy could open the passage up the river. Farragut bombarded the forts for a week, and then determined to force his way up the river. Some of his gunboats ran up to the forts on a dark night, cut the raft and chains, and opened a way for the vessels. The frigates, which were wooden, were carefully protected

with sand-bags inside, and chains outside; and at two o'clock in the morning of April 23 the fleet, numbering thirteen vessels, moved up the river. After one of the most desperate battles of the war, the vessels passed the forts. Great bonfires were blazing on the banks, but the smoke was so thick that little could be seen. Each vessel fought for itself, firing at the forts, the gunboats, and the ironclads as they came near her; and none of them knew very much about the result until the smoke cleared away, and they found themselves above the forts. The Confederate fleet had been destroyed in the battle.

655. The Mississippi River.—New Orleans surrendered to the fleet April 25, and the forts surrendered soon after. General Butler then took command at New Orleans, and the fleet sailed on up the Mississippi until it met the western gunboat fleet from Memphis (§ 648). During the summer the western gunboats attacked and destroyed, near Baton Rouge, a powerful Confederate ironclad ram, the *Arkansas*. It had been built in the Yazoo River, and had passed out into the Mississippi to offer battle to the fleet. The Mississippi River was now open through nearly all its course. The Confederates still had strong forts at Vicksburgh and Port Hudson; but they were placed on bluffs high above the river, so that the gunboats could not capture them, though they could run past them by night. There was no army at hand to give assistance; and the capture of these two places was left until the next year (§ 680). In the mean time, Farragut left the Mississippi, to take command in the Gulf of Mexico.

656. In Virginia this was a battle-year. The fighting was incessant, and there were four distinct campaigns: (1) McClellan's Peninsular campaign; (2) Pope's campaign in front of Washington; (3) The Confederate invasion of the North; and (4) Burnside's Fredericksburgh campaign.

657. The Army of the Potomac had been increased to nearly 200,000 men, well drilled and armed, and in excellent condition. The authorities at Washington were very anxious that McClellan should move the army directly southwest toward Richmond, so as to keep it always between the enemy and Washington.¹ But the country on this route was very rough, was crossed by many rivers, and had been strongly fortified by the Confederates, so that McClellan preferred to carry his army by water to Fortress Monroe, and then move it up the peninsula between the York and James rivers to Richmond. The objection to this was that it opened the way to the Confederates for a sudden rush on Washington, a



OPERATIONS IN THE EAST.

¹ This need of protecting Washington interfered with the plans of all the Union generals during the war. In the same way, the Confederate generals had to think first of protecting Richmond. Lee once said that he had "got a crick in his neck, from always having to look back over his shoulder at Richmond."

more valuable prize than Richmond. It was finally decided to follow McClellan's plan, but to keep a part of his army, under McDowell, in front of Washington, at Fredericksburgh, and another army, under General N. P. Banks, in the Shenandoah valley.

658. The Confederate Army was at Manassas Junction (§ 632). It was commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. As fast as McClellan's army was moved



JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

to Fortress Monroe, Johnston's army was moved to the Peninsula, so as to hold position between McClellan and Richmond.¹

659. Yorktown, on the Peninsula, the scene of Washington's capture of Cornwallis (§ 261), was the first fortified place on the road from Fortress Monroe to Richmond. Early in April, it was attacked by McClellan's army, and after a siege of a month the Confederates evacuated it and retired toward Rich-

mond. At Williamsburgh they were overtaken by the Union forces, and an indecisive battle took place. The Confederates were now inside of the lines of intrenchments close around Richmond. The Union forces were divided into two parts by a little stream called the Chickahominy, which passes Richmond on the north and empties into the

¹ Johnston was wounded in one of the early battles, and Lee took his place. Jackson, commonly called "Stonewall" Jackson, was Lee's ablest assistant (§ 661).

James. It is a dangerous thing thus to divide an army. McClellan risked it because he wished to push his line far enough north to join McDowell at Fredericksburgh, and



ROBERT E. LEE.

get the assistance of his army without uncovering Washington (§ 657). The Union gunboats controlled the James River to within eight miles of Richmond; and the Confederates had destroyed the *Merrimac*, because she drew too much water to make her escape from Norfolk to Richmond.

660. Seven Pines and Fair Oaks.—Late in May there were heavy rains. The Chickahominy rose rapidly and carried away the bridges; the whole country on its banks became a great swamp; and McClellan's army was badly divided. Johnston's army at once attacked the weaker division, on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy, at Seven Pines and Fair Oaks (see map, § 663). After two days' heavy fighting, Johnston was badly wounded, and his army retired again toward Richmond. General Robert E. Lee took his place. McClellan spent several weeks in rebuilding the bridges; but, while he was doing so, Lee and Jackson were operating elsewhere with great success.

661. Lee and Jackson.—Lee, who had been considered the best officer of the United States regular army, had



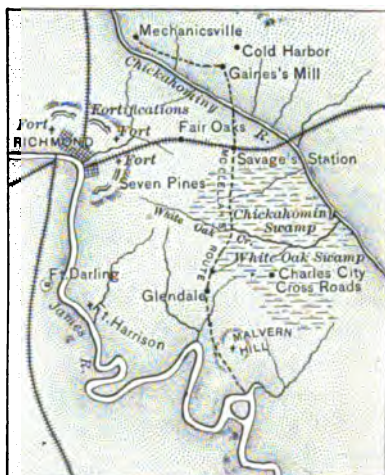
THOMAS J. JACKSON.

followed his State when Virginia seceded. From this time, he was recognized as the ablest Confederate general. His chief lieutenant was General Thomas J. Jackson, also a Virginian, commonly called "Stonewall" Jackson, from the obstinate way in which he had held his ground at Bull Run. He was a man of simple character, so intensely religious as to be considered a fanatic, and a general of remarkable ability.

662. The Raids of Jackson and Stuart.—Johnston had already sent Jackson north to the Shenandoah, where Banks was in command of

the Union forces (§ 657). Jackson put Banks to rout, and chased him to the Potomac. Indeed, it seemed as if the road to Washington was open to him; and the authorities there were so much alarmed that they called McDowell back from Fredericksburgh to defend the city. This was just what the Confederates wanted. They had balked McClellan's plan (§ 659). In the middle of June, General J. E. B. Stuart, an active cavalry officer, was sent on another raid. Stuart's force rode completely around McClellan's army, burning provisions and cars, and tearing up railroads, so as to interfere very much with McClellan's operations.

663. Seven Days' Battles.—Lee now had to deal only with McClellan, for he had got his other enemies out of the way. He hurried Jackson back to Richmond, and crossed the Chickahominy to meet him. He thus had about 90,000 men, nearly as many as McClellan; but his troops were united, while McClellan's were still divided by the river. The terrible series of engagements known as the Seven Days' Battles began (June 26) at Mechanicsville, a little place just north of Richmond, where Lee attacked the part of McClellan's army north of the Chickahominy, and was repulsed. The next day he won a victory at Gaines's Mill, and cut off McClellan from his supplies on the York



SCALE OF MILES
0 5 10

SEVEN DAYS' BATTLES.

River. Then McClellan began a retreat to the James River on the south, in order to reunite his forces. Lee followed, and for the rest of the week there was desperate fighting every day, the principal battles being those of Savage's Station (June 29), Glendale, or Frazier's Farm (June 30), and Malvern Hill (July 1). The last-named battle ended the series, for Lee was repulsed, and McClellan had reached the James River. This ended McClellan's Peninsular campaign, and his army was soon needed for the defence of Washington.¹

664. Pope's Campaign.—The Union forces between Fredericksburgh and Washington, 40,000 in number, were now put under command of General John Pope. Lee kept enough men to hold Richmond, and sent the rest, under Jackson, north to attack Pope. Jackson completely defeated Pope in the second battle of Bull Run (August 29), on the old Bull Run battle-field (§ 632), and drove his army through Chantilly and Fairfax Courthouse back to Washington. The authorities there had already ordered McClellan to bring his army back by water; and, as fast as this was done, the rest of Lee's army was moved north to join Jackson. Thus, early in September, the two armies were again about where they had been at the beginning of the year.

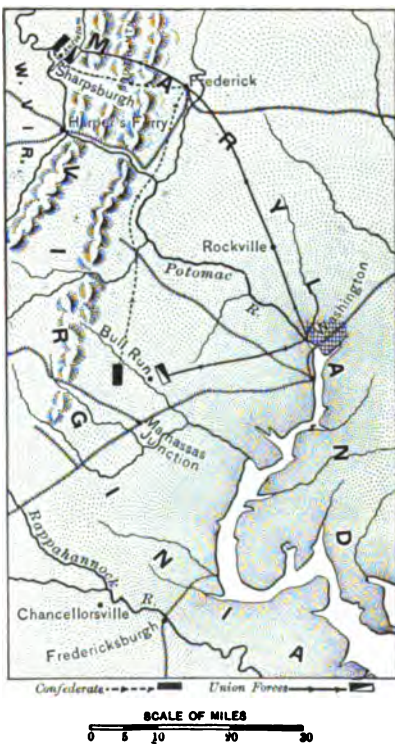
665. Lee's Invasion of the North.—While McClellan's army was still at Washington, Lee crossed the Potomac, took possession of Frederick City, and apparently intended to move right on to Philadelphia or Baltimore. McClellan, who now commanded all the forces around Washington, marched through Maryland and covered Baltimore, so that Lee was compelled to turn to the northwest, through the mountains. While he held the moun-

¹ The losses were about the same for both armies, 15,000 men each.

tain-passes, Jackson had stopped long enough to capture Harper's Ferry, with a garrison of 12,000 men and a large amount of supplies.

666. Antietam.—McClellan overtook the Confederates, and fought the indecisive battle of South Mountain (September 14). Lee was compelled to give up his invasion of the north, and turn and fight. He took position along Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburgh, and here was fought the great battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburgh (September 17). It was a drawn battle, but the result was against the Confederates, for they had to abandon the invasion of the North and recross the Potomac into Virginia.

McClellan followed them slowly, and by November the armies were back again not far from the positions they had held at the beginning of the war. McClellan was blamed for his slowness, and the command of the army was taken from him and given to General Ambrose E. Burnside. McClellan held no further command during the war.¹



FIRST INVASION OF THE NORTH.

¹ The Confederate forces at Antietam numbered 40,000; the Union forces

667. Fredericksburgh.—Burnside marched his army, which now numbered 125,000 men, to Fredericksburgh,



AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE.

intending to cross the Rappahannock there, and move straight for Richmond. Lee and Jackson reached their side of the Rappahannock first, and fortified the hills behind Fredericksburgh. Nevertheless, Burnside crossed the river and attempted to storm the hills (December 13). He was defeated, with heavy loss, and was driven back to the north side of the Rappahannock. The command of the army was then taken from him, and given to General Joseph E. Hooker.¹

668. Military Summary.—In the spring of 1862, the advantages were all with the Union forces. Mill Springs, Forts Henry and Donelson, Pea Ridge, Pittsburgh Landing, and Corinth, in the West, the naval battle at Hampton Roads, Roanoke Island, Fort Pulaski, and New Orleans, on the coast, were all important Union victories. The disasters in Virginia during the summer, and Bragg's raid into Kentucky, were not so favorable. But, on the whole, the year was marked by long steps forward. No territory had been lost in Virginia; the Union lines had been advanced across the whole State of Tennessee; the

55,000, though there were about 25,000 others who took no part in the battle. Each side lost about the same number, 12,500.

¹ The Union loss was about 12,000; the Confederate loss, 5,500.

Mississippi had been almost opened; and great pieces had been taken out of the Confederacy in every direction. The blockade was constantly growing stricter, so that the Southern people were in want of such common medicines as quinine; and the two great attempts, by Bragg and Lee, to burst through the besieging line of armies had been beaten back. But there was no feeling now that the war was to be an easy matter. By the end of the year, 1,300,000 volunteers had been called for, and the number of vessels in the navy was nearly 600. The expenses of the government were nearly \$3,000,000 a day.

669. Emancipation.—Slavery was not interfered with by the government at the beginning of the war. But there was a strong feeling at the North that slavery was the real cause of the war; and, as the struggle grew fiercer, many who had never been Abolitionists began to wish that Congress and the President would, as a war-measure, attack slavery. Just after the battle of Antietam, President Lincoln issued his first Emancipation Proclamation. It warned the seceding States that he would declare their slaves free unless they returned to the Union before the first day of the next year. No seceding State returned, and the final Emancipation Proclamation was issued, January 1, 1863. From that time, the army and navy of the United States considered all negroes free men, and refused to allow their former masters to treat them as slaves; and as fast as the army and navy gained control of the South, the masters were obliged to surrender control of the negroes. Negroes were also enlisted as soldiers and sailors. Not until 1865, however, was the Constitution so amended as forever to forbid slavery.

670. Financial Affairs.—The support of such enormous armies and navies required the expenditure of money on

an equally large scale, and the ordinary revenue of the government was not at all equal to it. In 1862, the government decided to issue paper money in bills, which were often called "greenbacks" from the color of the ink with which their backs were printed. This money was made a legal tender; that is, any one who owed a debt had the right to pay it in this paper money, no matter how much the paper might have decreased in value. From this time until 1879 (§ 813), the government paid out its own paper money for its expenses. It would not have been safe to issue too much of this kind of money, for it decreases in value rapidly when too much is issued (§ 233); and a large part of the expense of the war was paid by loans, by selling bonds, or promises to pay, with interest, in the future. In order to encourage the sale of the bonds, the National Banking system was established in 1863. Banks were not allowed to issue currency, without depositing a slightly larger amount of bonds at Washington. All the banks which issued currency were thus compelled to buy bonds, that is, to take part in the loaning of money to the government (§ 484).

871. Foreign Affairs.—The Confederates had expected that Great Britain and France would intervene in the war; that is, that they would agree to consider the Confederate States an independent nation, and attempt to force the United States to follow their example. They expected this because the cotton-factories in those two countries were in great straits for want of the Southern cotton, which was cut off by the blockade (§ 625). The Emancipation Proclamation put an end to any such expectation; the people of Great Britain would not have allowed their government to attempt to force the United States to stop abolishing slavery, and the French Government would not have ventured to intervene alone.

672. Confederate Privateers.—New reasons arose for ill feeling in the North against the British Government. Confederate agents in England built and armed two fast-sailing steamers, the *Alabama* and the *Florida*. The British Government was not sufficiently careful to seize them; they escaped to



THE ALABAMA.

sea, and soon almost entirely drove American commerce from the ocean. Whenever they were closely chased by American frigates, they found a friendly refuge in British harbors, until they could again get out to sea and renew their work of destruction. As they were British built, British armed, and manned mostly by British sailors, it looked to the people of the United States as if the building of these vessels were a British trick to destroy the commerce of a friendly nation.

673. The Sioux War.—During the summer of 1862, the Sioux Indians, in western Minnesota, revolted. They had made many complaints of their treatment by the government, and in August they burst suddenly upon the outlying settlements, killing men, women, and children without mercy. Troops were hurried back from the western armies, and the Indians were driven out of the State. Thirty-eight of them were tried, convicted of murder, and hanged.

(3) *Events of 1863.*

IN THE EAST,

674. Chancellorsville.—For some months the Army of the Potomac, under General Hooker, lay quiet on the north side of the Rappahannock (§ 667). Then Hooker again led the army across the Rappahannock, keeping to the north of the strong defences behind Fredericksburgh, and thus forced his way about ten miles toward Richmond. He was then met by Lee's army at a little place called Chancellorsville, and one of the great battles of the war followed (May 2-3). By skilful generalship, Lee and Jackson inflicted heavy loss on the Union army, and drove it back across the Rappahannock. But the Confederates suffered a heavier loss in the death of "Stonewall" Jackson. He was shot, through mistake, by some of his own men, during the night after the first day's battle. Lee said, very truly, that he had lost his right arm in losing Jackson.¹

675. Second Invasion of the North.—During the month of June, Lee made preparations for a second invasion of the North. His army, now numbering 70,000 men, was moved around the west of Hooker's army, until it reached the Shenandoah valley. At the same time, Hooker was drawing back his army of about 100,000 men toward Washington, to protect that city. Soon the movement changed into a race between the two armies for the North. Lee's army moved through the Shenandoah valley, crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, marched across Maryland, and entered Pennsylvania. The main body was at Chambersburgh, but parts of it held York and came

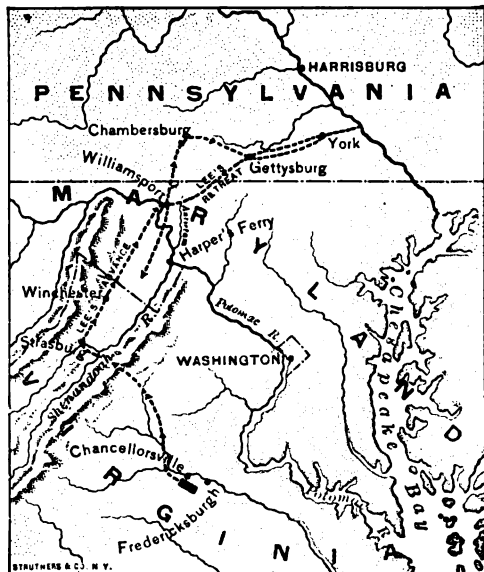
¹ The Union forces engaged numbered 90,000, and their loss was 17,000; the Confederate forces numbered 45,000, and their loss was 12,000.

within a few miles of Harrisburg. The invasion caused great alarm in the North. All business was stopped in Philadelphia, and militia regiments were hurried forward from all the States to aid the Army of the Potomac.

676. The Army of the Potomac had crossed the Potomac between Lee and Washington, and moved north through Maryland so as to protect Baltimore and Philadelphia. General George E. Meade had now taken

Hooker's place as commander. Just as Lee turned his course east from Chambersburg to attack Philadelphia, the army of the Potomac moved up between him and the city, and the two armies met at Gettysburg.

677. The Battle of Gettysburg was fought July 1, 2, and 3. The Union army was on the crest of a line of hills called Cemetery Ridge; the Confederate army was on the crest of a line of hills opposite, called Seminary Ridge; between them, in the valley, was the town of Gettysburg. The first day's fighting was rather in favor of the Confederates. On the second day they even gained



SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
SECOND INVASION OF THE NORTH.

one of the Union positions. The final struggle came on the third day. After a tremendous fire of two hours from



GEORGE G. MEADE.

150 cannon, the Confederates made their last charge in a line nearly a mile long. It was gallantly made, and gallantly repulsed after a three hours' struggle. When the sun set, the battle of Gettysburgh was over, and Lee was defeated.¹

678. Lee's Retreat was begun during the night, and his army moved southward through Maryland and Virginia to the Rapidan, a branch of the Rappahannock. The Army of the Potomac followed

slowly until it reached the opposite bank of the Rapidan. Here the two armies remained in position until Grant came to take command in Virginia the following year (§ 698). But Lee's army never fully recovered from the terrible losses of Gettysburgh, and it made no further effort to break through the Union line, or invade the North.

IN THE WEST.

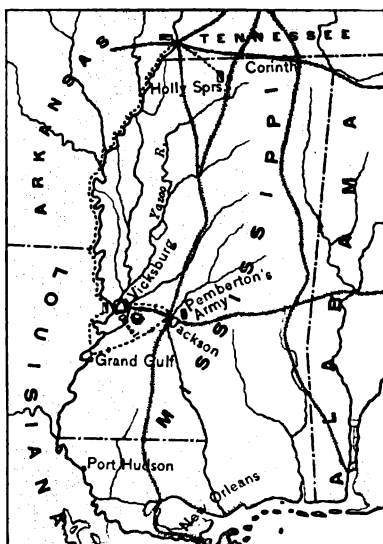
679. Union Positions.—In the beginning of the year 1863 there were four Union armies in the West. One

¹ The Union loss was about 23,000; the Confederate loss, about 20,000. While the last charge was being repulsed, the arrangements were being made for the surrender of Vicksburgh (§ 682).

was near Murfreesboro, under Rosecrans (§ 645); another was in northern Mississippi, near Holly Springs, under Grant (§ 646); a third was in Louisiana, under Banks, who had succeeded Butler (§ 655); and a fourth was in Arkansas (§ 647). The leading object of these armies was to open up the Mississippi, and thus split the Confederacy; and as Grant was operating close to the line of the river, the burden of the work fell first on him. His ablest assistant was Sherman.

680. Confederate Positions.—The river was still blocked by strong Confederate fortifications at Vicksburg and Port Hudson (§ 655).

Between Vicksburg and Grant was a Confederate army under Pemberton; and all the Confederate forces in the West were under J. E. Johnston (§ 658), who had succeeded Bragg. But Pemberton and Johnston did not work well together. When Grant had begun his march toward Vicksburg the year before, Pemberton had sent cavalry around to the rear of Grant's army, captured Holly Springs and its supplies, and thus compelled Grant to return unsuccessful. He was so elated by this success that he overrated his own skill, and gave but a half-hearted obedience to Johnston's directions. Johnston wished to have no siege of Vicks-



SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150

THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

burg, but to fight Grant in the open field: Pemberton proceeded to strengthen the fortifications in every way, and to get ready for a siege.

681. Grant's First Plan was to lead his army across the Mississippi, near Memphis, and move down the west bank of the river until he should be opposite Vicksburg. Here he endeavored to cut a canal across a great bend in the Mississippi, and thus leave Vicksburg at a distance from the river. But the river refused to run through the canal, and the plan failed. After two months' hard work, he found that Vicksburg was too strong to be taken from this side. Grant then, in April, moved his army still farther south, past Vicksburg, through a low, flat, and swampy country. At the same time, the gunboat fleet ran past the batteries without much injury, and ferried Grant's army across the Mississippi, at Grand Gulf, near Port Gibson, so that it was now again on the Vicksburg side of the river, but below the city. Sherman, with a part of the army, kept up a noisy attack on the northern side of the city, on the Yazoo River, to distract Pemberton's attention. Johnston was gathering a force at Jackson, to aid Pemberton.

682. Vicksburg and Port Hudson.—After crossing the Mississippi, Grant moved northeast, fighting five successful battles as he went, until he reached Jackson. He thus drove Pemberton into his fortifications at Vicksburg on one side, while he drove away Johnston on the other. Then, turning back from Jackson, he rejoined Sherman, and the whole army formed a close siege of Vicksburg. From that time, his grip on the place could not be loosened. He threatened Johnston in the rear, while he besieged Pemberton in front; and, after a siege of six weeks, the place surrendered, with 32,000 prisoners (July 4). Port Hudson surrendered July 9 to the Louis-

iana army under Banks. By the captures of Vicksburgh and Port Hudson, the whole Mississippi River passed under the control of the Union armies and fleets. The Confederates could no longer bring grain and cattle across the Mississippi from Texas and Arkansas, to feed their armies east of the Mississippi.

683. In Arkansas the Confederates attacked the post at Helena, July 4, and were badly defeated. After the fall of Vicksburgh, Grant sent a force into the State and took possession of nearly all of it, though there was still some fighting by Confederate guerrillas (§ 647).

684. Cavalry Raids had now become common on both sides. A cavalry force, if it could get into the rear of an opposing army, could inflict more damage, by tearing up railroads and burning supplies, than could be made up by the capture of the raiders. One of the boldest of these raiders was the Confederate John Morgan. In July he passed through Tennessee and Kentucky with 4,000 horsemen, crossed the Ohio River into Indiana, and moved eastward into Ohio, fighting the militia as he went. The whole State was alarmed, but he was captured before he could return into Kentucky.¹

685. Chattanooga was a most important point for both sides. The army which held it could control all of eastern Tennessee, and at the same time could attack the mountainous region to the south of it, in northern Georgia. In June, Rosecrans moved his army south from Murfreesboro, and Bragg retired slowly before him to Chattanooga. During the summer, Rosecrans moved part of his army so far around Bragg's army that the Confederates evacuated Chattanooga, and retired into Georgia. Rosecrans thought that Bragg was retreating, and hurried to pursue

¹ Morgan escaped from prison, and soon afterward was killed in a skirmish in Kentucky.

him. The two armies came together at a little creek called the Chickamauga. Bragg had received reinforcements from Lee's army, and defeated the Union army (September 19-20).¹ Part of Rosecrans's men fled in confusion to Chattanooga, but the rest, under General George H. Thomas, held their ground obstinately, and covered the retreat. Bragg followed and shut up the Union army in Chattanooga so closely that it was almost starved.

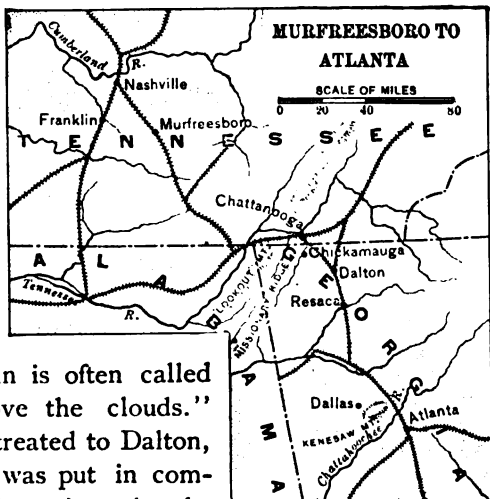
686. The Siege of Chattanooga was kept up for about two months. But one road, and that a bad one, was open to the Union troops. The others were controlled by the Confederates, who held Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, both looking down on Chattanooga, and so strongly fortified as to seem to defy attack. The Union army could neither advance nor retreat, and there seemed to be a likelihood, at one time, that it would have to surrender. Bragg was so sure of an easy success that he sent a part of his army, under Longstreet, up the Tennessee River to besiege Knoxville, which was held by Burnside (§ 667).

687. Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. — All eyes were turned to Grant, who since the battle of Vicksburg had become one of the foremost Union generals, and who was now given command of the western armies east of the Mississippi. He went to Chattanooga, taking Sherman and other generals in whom he had confidence, and drawing men from other armies, including a division under Hooker from the Army of the Potomac. Having made all preparations, Grant gave the order to advance, and the lofty positions of Bragg's

¹ The Union forces numbered about 55,000; the Confederate forces, about 60,000. The loss of each was about equal, 17,000.

army were carried by assault. The result surprised the Union troops almost as much as it did the Confederates. Part of the fighting was done so high up the mountain-side that the troops were hidden by the clouds, so that the battle of

Lookout Mountain is often called "the battle above the clouds." Bragg's army retreated to Dalton, where Johnston was put in command of it. Operations in the West then ceased for the rest of the year.



ON THE COAST.

688. Charleston.—Fort Sumter was attacked in April by a fleet of ironclads from Port Royal; but, after half an hour's firing, one of the vessels was lost, and the rest retired. Charleston was besieged for the last half of the year by a land-force from Port Royal, under General Q. A. Gillmore, aided by gunboats and ironclads. Gillmore, after hard fighting, captured an earthwork called Fort Wagner. He battered Fort Sumter into ruins, and destroyed about half of Charleston by firing shells into it from a distance of about five miles. But he failed to capture Fort Sumter, or to get any nearer to Charleston than the island at the mouth of the harbor. The ironclad *Atlanta* had been built by the Confederates in the Savan-

nah River. She was much like the *Merrimac*, but larger and stronger. In June she steamed down the river to drive away the blockading fleet. The *Weehawken*, a monitor, met her and captured her after a fight of fifteen minutes, in which the *Weehawken* fired but five shots.

689. Military Summary.—The year 1863 was one of great advantage to the forces of the United States in the West. Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas had been finally secured, and the seat of war had been changed to their southern border. The Mississippi had been opened, and the Confederacy divided into two parts, each of which in future had to fight for itself, while the Federal Government could send troops from the North to either side of the river. A new set of generals had appeared, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and others, who were very hard and fast fighters, and cared little for politics, or anything else except the war. In the East less had been done, and Lee was still more than a match for his opponents. But even here advantages had been gained. Lee's army had been so badly shattered by the terrible slaughter at Gettysburgh that it was never again quite equal to what it had been before; and his last and strongest attempt to burst through the attacking line and carry the war into the North had been a failure. It is clear now that July, 1863, was the turning-point of the war, after which the Confederacy grew steadily weaker. During that month occurred the battle of Gettysburgh, the surrender of Vicksburgh and Port Hudson, the conquest of Arkansas, and the movement on Chattanooga. The results were so evident that in August a day of thanksgiving was proclaimed by President Lincoln, and a day of fasting and prayer by the Confederate authorities.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

690. In the Confederacy there was now great and general distress. The government forced all men between the ages of 18 and 45 into the army, so that women and children had to do men's work. The soldiers were badly fed, clothed, and armed. Food was scarce and dear, for the people could now get no cattle from beyond the Mississippi, no grain from Virginia and Tennessee, no sugar from Louisiana, and no salt or fish from the coast. Cotton could not be sold, for the blockade was too strict. The railroads were fast wearing out, and there were no great iron-works to replace them. It was almost impossible to get such common articles as paper, and printing was sometimes done on one side of wall-paper. The government had issued so much paper money that it was almost worthless. One dollar in gold was worth twenty dollars in Confederate money. Butter sold for \$5 a pound; beef, \$1.50 a pound; coffee, \$10 a pound; corn and potatoes, \$14 a bushel.

691. In the North and West there was no such distress. Food, manufactures, and wealth were abundant. Taxes were high, but the people paid them willingly and easily. The tariff had been made very high in 1861, so as to offset the high internal taxes, and restrict foreign competition. Paper money had been issued (§ 670), and had decreased in value so that one dollar in gold was worth one and a half dollars in paper; but wages had increased somewhat, though not enough to make good this difference.

692. The Union Army was well fed, armed, and clothed; and the people formed Sanitary Commissions and other associations to care for the comfort of the soldiers in the field. These associations built hospitals, distributed food,

medicines, and assistance of every kind, and aided the sick and wounded. To help pay their expenses, great fairs were held all over the country, on a scale never equalled before or since. The New York City fair brought in \$1,200,000; the Philadelphia fair, \$1,080,000; and the Brooklyn fair, \$400,000.

693. Drafts were used this year to fill up the armies, for volunteering had become slow. Names were drawn by lot from lists of able-bodied men all over the country, and those whose names were drawn were forced to enter the army or pay for a substitute. The first draft in New York City, in July, was stopped by a great mob, which held control of the city for several days, and burned houses and murdered negroes at its will. Finally it was dispersed by soldiers hurried back from Gettysburgh (§ 677), and drafting went on unopposed. Drafting did not, indeed, bring many soldiers, but it served to stimulate volunteering.

694.* West Virginia.—The western part of Virginia, which had refused to take part in secession, was admitted to the Union in 1863 as the State of West Virginia.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

695. Mexico.—France, aided at first by Great Britain and Spain, had overturned the republican government of Mexico as soon as the troubles in the United States began. The United States considered this an unfriendly act (§ 420), but at the time could do nothing to resist it. France now made Mexico an empire, with Maximilian, an Austrian archduke, as emperor. Maximilian accepted the throne in the following year (§ 770).

696. The Confederate Privateers *Alabama* and *Florida* (§ 672) continued their destruction of American com-

merce; and a new vessel, the *Georgia*, was sent out on the same work. This vessel, like the others, was built in Great Britain. Confederate agents also built two powerful ironclad rams in Great Britain, declaring that they were intended for the emperor of China; but the United States threatened to declare war against Great Britain if they were allowed to go to sea, and the British Government at the last moment seized them. Confederate agents also tried to build ironclads in France, but the French Government refused to permit them to do so.

(4) *Events of 1864.*

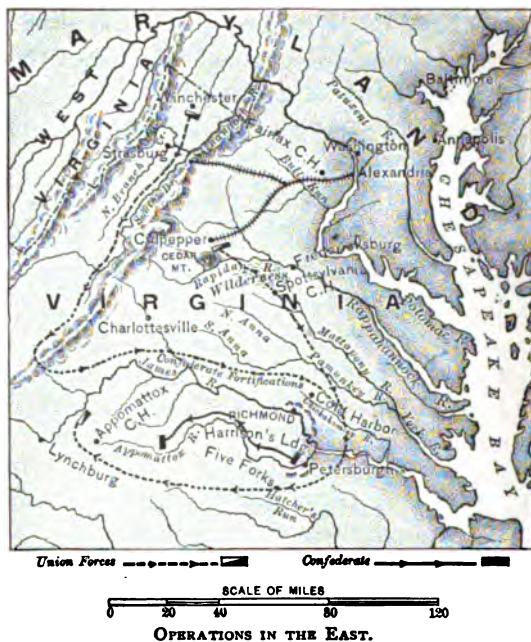
697. Confederate Positions—There were now but two great Confederate armies in the field, Lee's in Virginia, and Johnston's at Dalton. Johnston's position was in a mountainous country, which extended beyond Atlanta, giving him a great many defensive points, and making it difficult to drive him back into the flat country between Atlanta and the sea.

698. Union Positions.—Grant was now given command of all the Union armies, with the rank of lieutenant-general, and went to Virginia to meet Lee, taking his best cavalry officer, Sheridan, with him. He left Sherman to command the western armies which had been gathered in front of Dalton. Grant and Sherman agreed that the forward movement should begin on the same day, and that each should keep his opponent so busy that the two Confederate armies should not be able to help one another, as they had been in the habit of doing.

IN THE EAST.

699. Grant and Lee.—Grant had won his western victories by "constant hammering," and he set out to do

the same thing in Virginia. But he had now to meet an enemy very different from Pemberton or Bragg. Lee had already won the reputation of being one of the most skilful generals of modern times; and "constant hammering" at him was a very perilous undertaking. It was



like a battle between a man with a sword and a man with a club; and it was not until Grant laid down the club, and used his own military skill, that his superiority in strength gave him the advantage.

700. Grant's Plan.—Grant had decided to take the overland route from the Rappahannock River to Richmond (§ 657). An army of 30,000 men, under Butler, was sent up the James River, to a point near Petersburg, to

attack Richmond from that side. Another army, under Sigel and Hunter, was sent up the Shenandoah valley to attack Lynchburgh and threaten Richmond from the west.

701. The Wilderness, as it was called, between Fredericksburgh and Richmond, was crossed from west to east by many rivers, and Lee had filled it with fortifications. From behind these he fought Grant successfully for two weeks, repulsing his stubborn attempts to storm the works. The fighting was the bloodiest of the war. In the first three days of the Wilderness battles the Union loss in killed and wounded was 14,000; and in the next eleven days, at Spottsylvania Court-house, it was 14,000 more: a total loss in two weeks of 28,000 men.

702. Flank Movements.—Grant now resorted to his military skill, and with more success. At each of Lee's defences he attacked lightly in front, at the same time pushing part of his force to the left, attacking the rear of Lee's army, and so forcing him to retreat to a new position. In this manner Grant worked his way southward to the Chickahominy (§ 659). Lee's army was now inside of the main defences of Richmond, the centre of which was at Cold Harbor. Once more Grant tried the "hammering" process. The whole Union army was ordered to assault the Confederate works at once; but the assault was hopelessly repulsed in twenty minutes. These two weeks' fighting had cost the Union army more than 10,000 men, and the Confederates less than 2,000.

703. The Auxiliary Movements had not been successful. Butler had been forced by the Confederates into a peninsula on the James River; and then they had built fortifications in front of him and "bottled him up." Sigel and Hunter had been defeated; and their army was driven off into West Virginia, so as to leave the Shenandoah valley

unprotected. Lee was quick to take advantage of this. In July he sent part of his army, under Early, through the Shenandoah valley, to pass down through Maryland and attack Washington. But he found the forts around Washington too strong for him, and returned to Virginia, having succeeded only in frightening the authorities at the capital.

704. Petersburg.—The defences of Richmond on the north and east had now been found too strong to be taken by assault; and Grant determined to move his army around, cross the James River, and attack the city from the south. In carrying out this movement, the army followed nearly the line of the Seven Days' Battles of 1862 (§ 663), but with very little fighting. The movement was accomplished successfully in June; but the army had no sooner crossed the James River than it came up against the fortifications of Petersburg, which were too strong to be taken by assault. Within them was Lee's army, which had moved across from Richmond as Grant had moved. Petersburg is about 20 miles south of Richmond. The Confederate fortifications ran in an irregular curve from below Petersburg around to the north of Richmond, a distance of about 30 miles. To defend this line, Lee had about 60,000 men. Before him was Grant, with about twice as many men, attacking him at different places, and keeping him so busy that he could not interfere with the operations in the West. This was the situation of affairs during the rest of this year and until the end of the war in the following spring. Both armies were strongly placed. But Grant's constant effort was to push his lines farther around to the southwest, so as to attack Lee's railroad communications. Whenever he succeeded in doing so, Lee had to face him with new fortifications. Thus Lee's line was always growing weaker as it grew

longer, for he could hardly get any fresh troops, while Grant had as many as he needed.¹

705. The Shenandoah Valley, into which Early had retired (§ 703), was now guarded by a Union army under Sheridan. In September, Sheridan defeated Early in the battle of Winchester. In the following month, Early surprised the Union army at Cedar Creek, about twenty miles southwest of Winchester, and defeated it while Sheridan was absent at Winchester. In the afternoon, Sheridan rejoined his defeated army, rallied the men, and defeated Early, driving him far up the valley.²

IN THE WEST.

706. Sherman's Advance from Chattanooga against Dalton and Atlanta was through a country of lofty mountains, with strong defensive positions; but there was no "hammering." Both Sherman and Johnston were masters of their art; and the contest between them was as scientific as a skilful game of chess or a fencing-match. Johnston held each position until Sherman's forces began to lap around toward his rear; then he retired cautiously to another position, and the same process was gone through again. Neither general was careless enough to give the other the slightest advantage. In this manner Johnston was slowly driven back from one position to another, until he was forced to cross the Chattahoochee River, and take his strongest position, at Atlanta. Beyond Atlanta he could not go much farther south (§ 697).

¹ The Union loss during the rest of the year was about 40,000; the Confederate loss, about 20,000.

² During this campaign, Sheridan laid waste the whole Shenandoah valley, burning barns and destroying crops and farming implements. Over 2,000 barns were burned. The object of the destruction was to make the valley so desolate that no Confederate troops could operate in it.

The principal battles were Resaca, Dallas, and Kenesaw Mountain. But there was no such slaughter as in Virginia. Sherman's loss during his whole two months'



W. T. SHERMAN.

march to the Chattahoochee was about the same as the Union loss in the two weeks' battles around Cold Harbor (§ 702).

707. Johnston's Plan had been to bring Sherman just far enough from Chattanooga to be able to meet him on

equal terms. All Sherman's supplies were brought by the single railroad behind him. As he advanced, it was necessary for him to leave guards to protect the railroad: otherwise the Confederate cavalry would work around to his rear, tear up the railroad, and starve his army (§ 684). But every guard thus left weakened his force, and made it more nearly equal to Johnston's. Johnston had played his game of war so successfully that he was now ready to fight the long-delayed battle, and had begun arrangements to do so.

708. Johnston's Removal.—Johnston's long retreat had been skilfully conducted, but the people of the Confederacy did not understand the skill of it. They were startled as Sherman's storm of war came rolling up toward the edge of the Georgia mountains above them; and Jefferson Davis, who always disliked Johnston, made this feeling an excuse for removing him. General J. B. Hood was appointed in his place. The results were that he threw away all the advantages still retained by Johnston; one of the two great Confederate armies was lost before the end of the year; and the Confederacy itself fell in the following spring.

709. Capture of Atlanta.—Hood had a great reputation as a hard fighter, and was anxious to support it. He made three furious attacks on Sherman's army in July, which were the severest battles yet fought in Georgia. He was beaten in all three. Early in September, Sherman fought his way around toward the rear of Atlanta, and Hood was compelled to leave the city, which was then occupied by the Union forces (September 2).

710. Hood's Change of Plan.—Early in October, Hood moved his whole army past Atlanta, and marched northwest toward the country from which Sherman had set out. He hoped to compel Sherman to follow him, and thus to

change the seat of war again to Tennessee or the North. Sherman made a show of pursuing him until he saw him fairly started for Tennessee, and then returned to Atlanta, tearing up the railroad behind him as he went (§ 712). He had already sent a part of his army to Tennessee, under Thomas, hoping that Hood would take the course he did.

711. Hood's Tennessee Campaign.—Thomas gathered all the Union troops in Tennessee at Nashville, so that



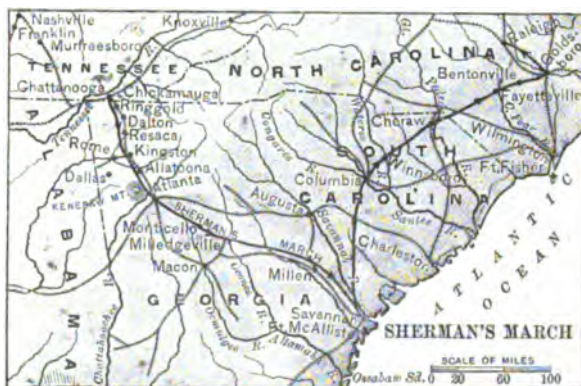
GEORGE H. THOMAS.

he was rather the superior in numbers as Hood drew near the city. At Franklin, a few miles south of Nashville, a battle was fought (November 30), and the Confederate army suffered severely. But it pressed on and tried to invest Nashville. After long preparation, Thomas attacked Hood and completely defeated him (December 15 and 16). The pursuit was so vigorous that Hood's troops were scattered in every direction. One of the Confederacy's two great armies had thus faded into nothing (§ 697).

712. Sherman's New Plan.—Sherman, on his return to Atlanta, had before him a country in which there was not an organized Confederate army between him and Virginia, nor the material to make one. Hood's mistake had put the whole Confederacy at Sherman's mercy. He had an

army of 60,000 picked veteran troops, with abundant supplies, and with States before him which had not greatly felt the war, and were the richest part of the Confederacy. In the middle of November, he burned Atlanta, cut the telegraph-wires to the North, and set out on his march southeast to the sea. But the sea was not his final destination: his real aim was the back of Lee's army, far away in Virginia.

713. The March through Georgia was finished in a little less than a month, and during all this time it was not certainly known at the North what had become of Sherman's



army. Its route was through Milledgeville and Millen, down the peninsula between the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers, to Savannah. It marched in four columns, covering a strip of country about 60 miles wide, all of which was made desolate. The railroads were destroyed, the depots and bridges were burned, and the army lived on the country. There was hardly any resistance to the march: indeed, it is doubtful whether, on open ground, any army of the war could have successfully resisted this army of Sherman's.

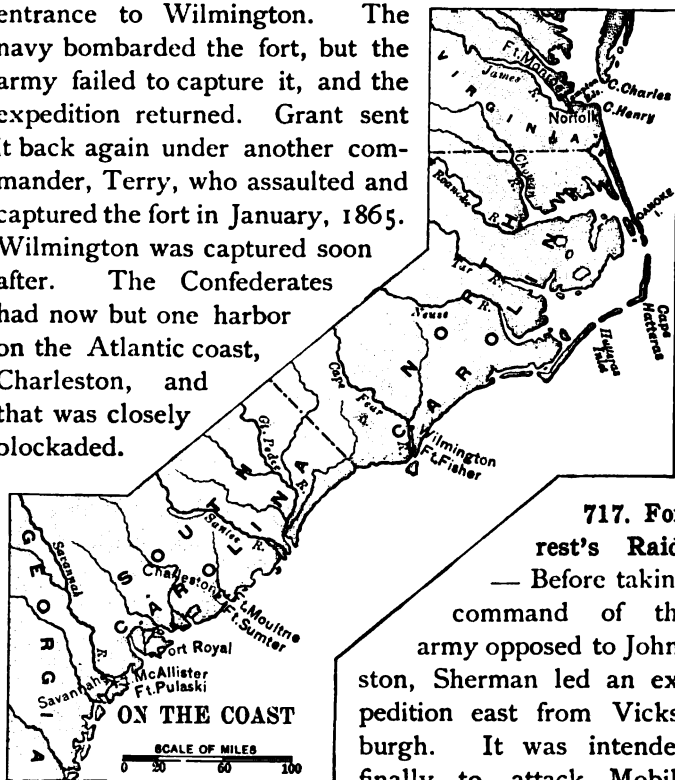
714. Savannah.—The army reached Ossabaw Sound, at the mouth of the Ogeechee River, December 13. Fort McAllister, which guarded Savannah, was carried by storm in fifteen minutes by General Hazen, and communication was opened with the blockading fleet. After a siege of eight days, Savannah was captured. Its garrison blew up two ironclads which had been built at that city, and escaped to Charleston. Sherman's army remained at Savannah until February, 1865.

ON THE COAST.

715. Operations on the Coast, during this year, consisted of a number of attacks intended either to keep the Confederates busy and prevent them from sending assistance to Hood and Lee, or to capture Mobile and Wilmington, the last ports of the Confederacy for blockade-running. In Florida, an expedition from Port Royal landed at Jacksonville in February, and marched west into the interior. The army was defeated by the Confederates in the battle of Olustee, and the expedition was given up. In Louisiana, an expedition under Banks was sent up the Red River from New Orleans early in the year. Its object was to capture Shreveport and conquer the western part of the State, which was still held by the Confederates. It was defeated in April at Sabine Cross-roads and Pleasant Hill, near Shreveport, and returned without accomplishing anything.

716. In North Carolina, the Union troops were driven from some of their positions, early in the year, by the Confederates, aided by a powerful ironclad, the *Albemarle*. In October, Lieutenant Cushing, of the blockading fleet, blew up the *Albemarle* at Plymouth with a torpedo, one dark night, and the Union forces recovered their posi-

tions.¹ In December, a land and naval expedition, under General Butler and Admiral Porter, was sent from Fortress Monroe to capture Fort Fisher, which guarded the entrance to Wilmington. The navy bombarded the fort, but the army failed to capture it, and the expedition returned. Grant sent it back again under another commander, Terry, who assaulted and captured the fort in January, 1865. Wilmington was captured soon after. The Confederates had now but one harbor on the Atlantic coast, Charleston, and that was closely blockaded.



717. Forrest's Raid.

— Before taking command of the army opposed to Johnston, Sherman led an expedition east from Vicksburgh. It was intended finally to attack Mobile from the land side. It reached Meridian, but its cavalry column, which was coming from Tennessee, was defeated by the Confederate General N. B. Forrest, and Sherman returned to Vicksburgh, after destroying an immense amount of property. Forrest passed on into Tennessee

¹ Cushing's exploit was one of the most heroic of the war. Out of his crew of thirteen volunteers, only himself and one other escaped.

on a raid, and captured Fort Pillow, near Memphis. Its garrison was mostly negro troops, and Forrest's men killed nearly all of them.

718. Mobile Bay was defended by two strong forts, Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan, on opposite sides of the entrance. Inside of the entrance there were a great number of torpedoes, three gunboats, and a powerful ironclad ram, the *Tennessee*, commanded by Admiral Buchanan, formerly captain of the *Merrimac* (§ 650). Outside was the blockading fleet, consisting of fourteen wooden vessels and four monitors, under Farragut (§ 654). Farragut fought his way through the obstructions and past the forts into the harbor (August 5). He then attacked and captured the *Tennessee*, much of the fighting being done by the wooden frigates.¹ The forts then surrendered, and there was no more blockade-running at Mobile. The city itself was not captured until the following year (§ 727).

719 Military Summary.—The year's operations had crushed in the shell of the Confederacy. The battle of Nashville had destroyed one of the two Confederate armies. There was but one important Confederate army left, that of Lee, in Virginia. Lee could do nothing to help the States farther south, for any weakening of his line would be followed by an instant attack from Grant, who

¹ The passage of the forts, during which Farragut stationed himself in the rigging of his vessel, in order to see over the smoke, is the most celebrated part of the day's work. When cautioned to avoid the torpedoes which lined the entrance, the admiral expressed his contempt for the torpedoes in strong language and gave the order "Go ahead!" One vessel was sunk by a torpedo, but it was not Farragut's. The fight in the bay was fully as noteworthy. The *Tennessee* was the strongest of the Confederate ironclads, and yet Farragut attacked her with wooden vessels. These rammed her until their bows were broken off, and helped materially in capturing her.

was watching him vigilantly. Sherman, at Savannah, could go where he pleased, for there was nothing to resist him; and it was evident that he meant to go to Virginia, and crush Lee between two armies. Everywhere the people of the Confederacy seemed to be worn out and discouraged by the terrible distresses which they had endured for four years; and so many of the able-bodied men had been killed or crippled that it was not easy to find men to form new Confederate armies.

ON THE OCEAN.

720. Confederate Privateers continued to destroy American commerce during the year. Three of them, the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Georgia*, were captured or destroyed, but others took their places. The *Alabama*, Captain Semmes, had put into the harbor of Cherbourg, France, to refit, and was there watched by the *Kearsarge*, Captain Winslow. The two vessels were of equal strength, and Semmes sent Winslow a challenge to a sea-fight, which was just what Winslow desired. It took place (June 19) seven miles off the coast, and was watched by many spectators on the shore. The fire of the *Alabama* was fast and wild; that of the *Kearsarge* was slower and sure. In an hour the *Alabama* raised the white flag, and twenty minutes afterward she sank. Her captain was picked up by an English yacht, and carried to England.¹ The *Florida* was surprised and captured in the neutral port of Bahia by the *Wachusett*, Captain Collins. Her capture was not legal; but before anything could be done, she was accidentally sunk near Fortress Monroe. The

¹ The superiority of the *Kearsarge's* fire caused particular satisfaction in the United States, for the *Alabama's* gunners were from British war-vessels (§ 369, note).

Georgia had been sold, and had become an English merchant-vessel. The sale was illegal, and the *Georgia* was captured on her first voyage, off Lisbon, by the *Niagara*.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

721. In the Confederacy, the distress of the preceding year had only grown worse (§ 690). Confederate money had become almost worthless: one dollar in gold would buy fifty dollars of it, so that a one-dollar bill was really worth but two cents. Hardly any business was done; and every one was waiting for the inevitable end of the war. Women and children of course suffered most by the destruction of property and the scarcity of food; but they exhibited a wonderful patience under suffering.

722. In the North and West, comfort and prosperity had hardly been checked (§ 691). But, in spite of prosperity, the long severity of the war had begun to tell on the people. At different times in the year, the President had called out a total of about 1,200,000 new men, and many persons began to be alarmed by the apparent necessity for such numbers of fresh soldiers. It began to be believed that there must have been enormous losses in the war which had not been made public. In fact, the government never received half the number of men it called for. Desertions and evasions made up for the rest, and this was the fact which was not made public.

723. Presidential Election.—The Democrats nominated (1864) General McClellan for President, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice-President; while the Republicans nominated President Lincoln, with Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President. The Democrats declared that the war had been a failure, and ought to cease; but this declaration had hardly been made when

Sherman's advance and the capture of Atlanta, the fight in Mobile Bay, and Sheridan's victories in the Shenandoah Valley revived the flagging spirit of the people, and Lincoln and Johnson were elected.¹

724. Canada had become a refuge for a number of Confederate agents, who contrived various means of annoying the Northern States. They endeavored to release the Confederate prisoners who were shut up in camps in the North and West, and even to set fire to New York City; but they failed.²

725. Exchange of Prisoners had ceased, for the Confederate authorities refused to exchange negro soldiers. The Union prisoners, shut up amid the misery of the Confederacy, suffered horribly, particularly at Andersonville, a prison near Macon, Georgia.

726. Nevada, a part of the Mexican session of 1848, was admitted to the Union in 1864.

(5) *Events of 1865.*

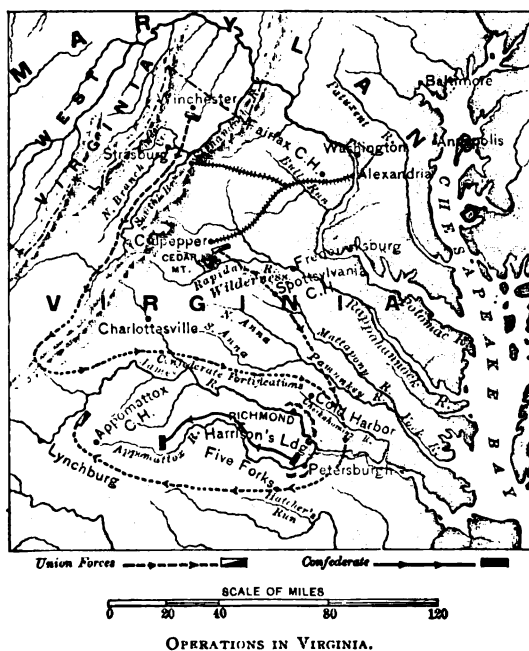
CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

727. In Mississippi and Alabama several Union columns were already moving from place to place, seizing Confederate supplies and arms, and scattering any body of Confederate troops that attempted to make head against them. The only serious resistance was at Mobile; and that city surrendered in April, after a siege. That really ended the war in this section; but early in May, when the war had ended in Virginia and North Carolina, a general surrender of the Confederate troops in Mississippi and Alabama was made by General Richard Taylor (§ 734).

¹ Of the 233 electoral votes, Lincoln and Johnson received 212, and McClellan and Pendleton 21.

² In October a number of them rode into the little town of St. Albans, in Vermont, and robbed the bank there.

728. Sherman's Northward March began from Savannah (February 1). He moved directly north to Columbia, which was burned while he held possession of it. Each side accused the other of having burned the city. From Columbia, Sherman moved northeast to Fayetteville, following nearly the same route as that taken by Cornwallis in 1781 (§ 251). The Confederate garrisons in Charleston and other coast-towns were forced to leave their posts and hurry northward ahead of him. Thus the whole



Atlantic coast was seized by the Union forces. So far, Sherman had met little armed resistance, and his principal difficulty had been the winter rains and the swollen rivers and swamps. Now he had to move more cautiously,

for he had his old enemy again before him. Jefferson Davis had been forced to call Johnston back to service, and he had gathered 40,000 men to dispute Sherman's farther advance.

729. Johnston's Army was composed of some fragments of the scattered Western armies, and of the garrisons of Charleston and other coast cities which had been evacuated as Sherman's army passed them. The whole had been gathered up by Johnston, and formed into an army. He attacked Sherman furiously near Goldsboro (March 19), and for a time the battle was doubtful. But Sherman finally drove Johnston back, and reached Goldsboro. Here he was joined by fresh troops from Wilmington, and both armies waited for the result of operations in Virginia.

730. Grant's Opening Movement.—It has already been seen that Grant's general plan was to push his line farther to the southwest around Petersburg, and thus, while he had men enough to keep his own line strong, force Lee to lengthen and weaken his line (§ 704). He made another movement in this direction the day before Sherman started from Savannah, reaching a little stream called Hatcher's Run, and holding his ground. He then waited for Sheridan to join him from the Shenandoah valley.

731. Sheridan, with 10,000 picked cavalry, moved up the Shenandoah valley to Staunton, near Lynchburgh. There he turned eastward to Charlottesville, scattering Early's army on the way. He again moved eastward, passing to the north of the defences of Richmond, and joined Grant. He had destroyed the canal, the railroad, and bridges all the way from Lynchburgh to Richmond, and thus cut off much of Lee's supplies.

732. The Final Advance began March 29, while Sherman was resting at Goldsboro. Sheridan made another movement to the southwest, across Hatcher's Run, to Five Forks, and held his ground. Lee again lengthened his

line to meet this new danger; but the line was now so long that his 50,000 men could not guard it. Grant at once advanced his whole line, 100,000 strong, and burst his way through Lee's line of intrenchments (April 2). Lee retreated westward during the night, and Richmond and Petersburg were entered by the Union troops. Jefferson Davis and the Confederate government escaped by railroad to North Carolina.¹



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

mattox rivers, toward Lynchburgh. From this place he hoped to make his way south into North Carolina, and join Johnston. But Grant's army was in hot pursuit; and, before Lee could reach Lynchburgh, Sheridan had passed him and interposed between him and that place. Lee's retreat was

733. Lee's Surrender.

—Lee's line of retreat was westward, between the James and Appo-

SIGNATURES OF GRANT AND LEE.

¹ Davis was captured in Georgia the next month, and was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe for two years. He was then released without trial. The United States did not put any one to death for treason.

cut off; his men were few, hungry, and worn out; and he surrendered the Confederate forces in Virginia, at a little place called Appomattox Court-house (April 9). Grant asked no terms of surrender that were not generous. Lee's troops were only to promise to bear arms no longer against the United States. They were to give up public property, except that they were to keep their horses for use in the spring ploughing.

734. General Surrender.—Sherman at once pushed forward from Goldsboro, and occupied Raleigh. Here Johnston surrendered his army (April 26). His men, like Lee's, were dismissed on giving their word to do no further act of war. The other Confederate forces east of the Mississippi surrendered early in May, followed toward the end of the same month by those west of the Mississippi. They received the same terms as those given to the armies of Lee and Johnston. The war was over, and the soldiers of the Confederacy went quietly back to their desolated homes, there to begin a new struggle, not against the Union, but against poverty.

735. The Grand Review.—The victorious armies of Grant and Sherman, numbering about 150,000 men, were reviewed in Washington, near the end of May, by their commanders and the officers of the government. For two days the long line of sunburnt veterans marched through the principal street, accompanied by the music of military bands, flowers, and the cheers of spectators from all parts of the country. The disbanding of the army then began (§ 752). The regiments were given similar triumphal receptions on their arrival in their own States, and the companies on their arrival at their homes.¹

¹ In 1866 the veterans formed an association, under the name of "The Grand Army of the Republic."

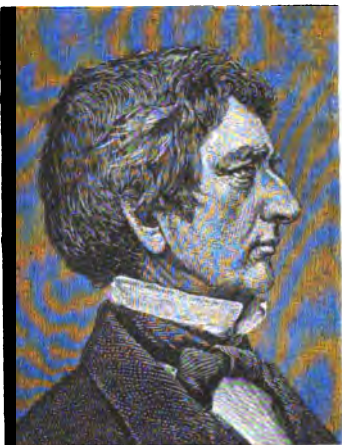
DEATH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

736. Public Rejoicings were continued in the North and West for nearly a week after Lee's surrender. The firing of cannon, public meetings, processions, and the illumination of houses showed the joy of the people that the war was not only over, but successfully over. In it all there was a general feeling of gratitude to President Lincoln for his share in the work. He had entered Washington, four years before, almost unknown: now he was recognized as a wise, prudent, and great-hearted leader of men. In all the ups and downs of the war, he had not lost his temper, his courage, or his self-control, and he had always done the sensible thing at the fit time. The more the people had come to know him, the more they had loved and trusted him.

737. The Assassination of the President.—A conspiracy had been formed by a number of persons in and near Washington to kill the leading officers of the government, in order to throw national affairs into confusion and give the Confederacy a last chance. Its leader, John Wilkes Booth, seems to have been crazed by a desire to be talked about, and some of his associates were at least weak-minded. The President had avoided military guards and protection throughout the war, and his fearlessness made him an easy victim. One of his few pleasures, when tired out, was to attend the theatre. On the appointed night, Booth stole into the private box where the President was sitting, and shot him through the head from behind, so that he died the next day (April 15, 1865). Another conspirator had attacked Secretary Seward, who was ill and in bed, but only wounded him. Booth was chased into Virginia, and killed in a barn in which

he had hidden himself. The other conspirators were arrested, four of them hanged and four imprisoned.

738. The Funeral of the President lasted for about three weeks. The body was taken slowly to New York City, and thence westward to his home in Springfield, Illinois. All business was stopped in the cities on the route, and the whole people joined in the ceremonies. His late enemies in the seceding States lamented his death, for they had come to see that he had never cherished hatred of them because of their conduct, and that his murder was the worst calamity that could have befallen them.



WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

739. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, became President at Lincoln's death. As Lincoln had served but little more than a month of his second four years, his second term will be considered as Johnson's administration.

MILITARY SUMMARY OF THE WAR.

740. The Course of the War seems to fall naturally into two parts. For the first two years the Federal Government was busied in fixing its encircling lines and in winning territory piecemeal from the Confederacy. For the last two years its energies were bent on seeking and defeating the principal Confederate armies. The turning-point of the war was in July, 1863 (§ 689); and the lead-

ing Union generals at the end were not those who had led at the beginning.

741. Events of 1861 (§ 632).—The principal battles of 1861 were those of Bull Run (July 21) and Wilson's Creek (August 10), in both of which the Union forces were defeated. But the Union armies had seized and held a vast extent of doubtful territory, so that the Confederacy was much smaller than had been expected; and operations on the Atlantic coast had been fairly commenced at Port Royal.

742. Events of 1862 (§ 639).—Two attempts were made this year by the Confederate armies to break through the encircling line, by Bragg in August and by Lee in September. Both were defeated. The great battles in the East were the Seven Days' Battles in June and July, Antietam (September 17), and Fredericksburgh (December 13). Of these, Antietam was the only decisive Union victory. The great battles in the West were Fort Donelson (February 16), Pittsburgh Landing (April 6–7), and Murfreesboro (December 31), all Union victories. The capture of New Orleans (April 28) was also a most important Union success. The result of the year's operations was the winning of a great amount of territory in the West, but the Confederate armies were still as strong and as confident as ever.

743. Events of 1863 (§ 674).—In the East the principal battles were Chancellorsville (May 2–3), a Confederate victory; and Gettysburgh (July 1–3), a Union victory, which defeated the last great attempt, by Lee, to break through the encircling line. In the West, a Confederate army was captured at Vicksburgh (July 4), the Mississippi was opened, and the Confederacy was divided. The Confederate victory of Chickamauga (September 19–20) was followed by the Union victories of Lookout Mountain

and Missionary Ridge (November 23-25). The advantages of the year's operations in the West were altogether with the Union forces, and the Confederate armies in that section for the first time began to show a falling off in strength and confidence.

744. Events of 1864 (§ 697).—The great battles in the East were the Wilderness battles and Cold Harbor in May and June, ending in the siege of Petersburg, which lasted until the end of the war. While it was going on, the western army of the Confederacy was blotted out at Nashville (December 15); and Sherman, with hardly an enemy before him, had reached Savannah on his way northward to crush Lee.

745. Events of 1865 (§ 727).—Sherman's march northward from Savannah in February swept up before it all the available forces of the Confederacy into a great trap, from which there was no escape. But Sherman took care not to push fast or far enough to drive Johnston and Lee close together. The operations of the two Union generals were so timed as to prevent the scattered Confederate forces from uniting into one army. One by one they were forced to surrender (Lee April 9, and Johnston April 26); and the war was over.

746. The Armies on both sides were large. The number of men called into the Union armies during the war was 2,942,748; and 2,690,401 of these entered the army, some for three months, some for six months, and some for one year, two years, or three years. The largest number in service at one time was in May, 1865: it was then 1,000,516, of whom 650,000 were fit for active service. The Union navy grew steadily larger until the end of the war, when it numbered 700 vessels, 60 of them ironclads, and 50,000 sailors. The Confederacy did not need so many men as the Federal Government, for it had

no conquered territory to garrison, and could move its men quickly from one army to another. The total Confederate force was probably about 1,300,000, and the largest number at one time was in January, 1863. The following table is given from a careful writer, as the number at the dates named. The Southern figures are estimates.

	United States.	Confederacy.
January 1, 1861.....	16,367	
July 1, 1861.....	186,751	150,000
January 1, 1862.....	575,917	350,000
January 1, 1863.....	918,191	690,000
January 1, 1864.....	860,737	400,000
January 1, 1865.....	959,460	250,000
March 31, 1865.....	980,086	175,000
May 1, 1865.....	1,000,516	

747. The Dead numbered about 300,000 on each side. The Union losses are known, and are given below: the Southern losses are still uncertain. National cemeteries have been laid out on various battle-fields, in which the bodies of the dead have been collected; and many cities and towns have their soldiers' monuments. Liberal pensions are paid to wounded Union soldiers, and to the families of the dead.¹

748. The Cost of the War cannot be figured up. The tax receipts of the United States, 1861-65, were about \$780,000,000, most of which was spent on the war; and, in addition to this, there was at the end of the war a national debt of \$2,850,000,000. If we try to add to

¹ In the Union armies there were killed in battle, 44,238; died of wounds, 49,205; died of disease, 186,216; suicide, homicide, and executions, 526; unknown causes, 24,184: total, 304,369. Of these there were only 7 executions. In Confederate prisons, 26,168 are known to have died, but thousands of others have since died of disease contracted during imprisonment. There are buried in the national cemeteries 318,870 bodies; but some of these were Confederate soldiers.

this (1) the expenses and debts of States, cities, and towns; (2) the payments for pensions; (3) the expenses of the Confederacy, which are not fully known; (4) the destruction of private property in the South by Union armies, and on the ocean by Confederate privateers; and the destruction of productive energy in the loss of men; the total cost of the war passes beyond possibility of estimate.

749. The Object of this enormous expenditure of blood and money by the nation was not to show which section was the stronger, for nearly every one knew beforehand that the North was the stronger. It was not to show which had the braver men, for the soldiers on both sides came out of the war with an equal respect for each others' bravery. It was not to satisfy any hatred of the North against the South, for there was no such thing. It was not to abolish slavery, though slavery was abolished as a part of the war. The object of the war was to keep the nation one, to prevent any future attempt to secede, and to see to it that there should not be two nations in place of one, waging wars with one another, and taxing men, women, and children to carry them on. This was the object for which the Union men fought and, when necessary, died: to secure perpetual peace and a united nation to their children and their children's children forever.

750. The Leading Events of Lincoln's administration, including the war for the Union, are as follows:

(U., Union victory; C., Confederate victory; Ind., indecisive.)

1861-5: Lincoln's Term of Office.....	§ 620
1861: Fort Sumter, S. C., evacuated, April	
13 (C.).....	622
Volunteers called for by the President,	
April 15.....	623

1861: First bloodshed at Baltimore, April 19 §	623
Capture of Norfolk navy yard, April	
20 (C.).....	649
Secession of four border States, May	
and June.....	626
Meeting of Congress, July 4.....	631
Battle of Rich Mountain, W. Va.,	
July 11 (U.).....	630
Battle of Bull Run, Va., July 21 (C.).....	632
Battle of Wilson's Creek, Mo., August	
10 (C.).....	635
Capture of Fort Hatteras, N. C., Aug.	
29 (U.).....	636
Battle of Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21 (C.).....	634
Capture of Port Royal, S. C., Nov.	
7 (U.).....	636
Trent affair, November 8.....	638
1862: Battle of Mill Spring, Ky., January 19	
(U.).....	640
Capture of Fort Henry, Tenn., Feb.	
6 (U.).....	640
Capture of Roanoke Island, N. C.,	
Feb. 8 (U.).....	652
Capture of Fort Donelson, Tenn., Feb.	
16 (U.).....	640
Battle of Pea Ridge, Ark., March	
5-8 (U.).....	647
Battle of <i>Monitor</i> and <i>Merrimac</i> , March	
9 (U.).....	651
Battle of Pittsburgh Landing or Shiloh,	
Tenn., April 6-7 (U.).....	642
Capture of Island Number Ten, April	
7 (U.).....	648
Capture of Fort Pulaski, Ga., April	
11 (U.).....	652
Capture of New Orleans, La., April	
25 (U.).....	655
Capture of Yorktown, Va., May 4 (U.).....	659
Battle of Williamsburgh, Va., May 5	
(Ind.).....	659
Capture of Corinth, Miss., May 30 (U.).....	643
Battle of Fair Oaks, Va., May 31 (U.).....	660

1862: Jackson's raid on Banks, Va., June (C.)	§ 662
Seven Days' Battles, Va., June 25-July 1 (Ind.)	663
Pope's campaign, Va., August (C.)	664
Second battle of Bull Run, Va., Aug. 30 (C.)	664
Capture of Harper's Ferry, W. Va., Sept. 15 (C.)	665
Battle of Antietam, Md., September 17 (U.)	666
Bragg's invasion of Kentucky, September	644
Battle of Perryville, Ky., Oct. 8 (Ind.)	644
Battle of Fredericksburgh, Va., Dec. 13 (C.)	667
First attempt on Vicksburgh, Miss., Dec. 29 (C.)	680
Battle of Murfreesboro, Tenn., Dec. 31 to Jan. 2 (U.)	645
1863: Emancipation Proclamation, January 1	669
Draft Act passed, March 3	693
Fort Sumter, S. C., attacked by iron-clads, April 7 (C.)	688
Grant's campaign before Vicksburgh, Miss., May 1 to 17 (U.)	682
Battle of Chancellorsville, Va., May 2-3 (C.)	674
Battle of <i>Weehawken</i> and <i>Atlanta</i> , June 17 (U.)	688
Admission of West Virginia, June 20	694
Lee's second invasion of the North, June	675
Battle of Gettysburgh, Pa., July 1-3 (U.)	677
Capture of Vicksburgh, Miss., July 4 (U.)	682
Battle of Helena, Ark., July 4 (U.)	683
Capture of Port Hudson, La., July 9 (U.)	682
Draft Riots, New York City, July 13-16	693

1863: Morgan's Ohio raid, July.....	\$ 684
Battle of Chickamauga, Ga., Sept. 19-20 (C.).....	685
Siege of Chattanooga, Tenn., Oct. and Nov.....	686
Siege of Knoxville, Tenn., Nov. 18-29	686
Battle of Lookout Mountain, Tenn., Nov. 24-25 (U).....	687
1864: Forrest's raid, Miss. and Tenn., February.....	717
Grant made lieutenant-general, March 3	698
Red River expedition, La., April (C.)	715
Capture of Fort Pillow, Tenn., April 12 (C.).....	717
Battles of the Wilderness, Va., May 5-7 (Ind.).....	701
Battles at Spottsylvania Court-house, Va., May 8-18 (Ind).....	701
Battle of Resaca, Ga., May 14-15 (U.)	706
Battle of Dallas, Ga., May 25-28 (U.)	706
Battle of Cold Harbor, Va., June 3 (C.)	702
Siege of Petersburg, Va., begun, June	704
Battle of <i>Kearsarge</i> and <i>Alabama</i> , June 19 (U.).....	720
Battle of Kenesaw Mountain, Ga., June 27 (U.).....	706
Battles before Atlanta, Ga., July 20-28 (U.).....	709
Early's raid on Washington, July.....	703
Battle of Mobile Bay, Ala., August 5 (U.).....	718
Capture of Atlanta, Ga., September 2 (U.).....	709
Battle of Winchester, Va., September 19 (U.).....	705
Battle of Cedar Creek, Va., October 19 (U.).....	705
Admission of Nevada, October 31....	726
Sherman's march to the sea, Nov. and Dec.....	713
Battle of Franklin, Tenn., November 30 (U.).....	711

1864: Capture of Fort McAllister, Ga., Dec.	
13 (U.).....	§ 714
Battle of Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 15-	
16 (U.).....	711
Capture of Savannah, Ga., December	
21 (U.).....	714
1865: Capture of Fort Fisher, N. C., Jan. 15	
(U.).....	716
Sherman's march northward, Feb. and	
March.....	728
Columbia, S. C., captured, February	
17 (U.).....	728
Charleston, S. C., captured, Feb. 18	
(U.).....	728
Wilmington, N. C., captured, Feb. 21	
(U.).....	716
Battle of Goldsboro, N. C., March 19	
(U.).....	729
Sheridan's raid on Lynchburgh, Va.,	
March.....	731
Battle of Five Forks, Va., April 1 (U.)	732
Petersburgh, Va., captured, April 2	
(U.).....	732
Richmond, Va., captured, April 3 (U.)	732
Surrender of Lee, April 9.....	733
Assassination of Lincoln, April 14....	737
Surrender of Johnston, April 26.....	734
Jefferson Davis captured, May 11 (note)	732
General surrender, April and May....	734

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Detailed study of a battle.
2. Detailed study of a campaign.
3. The military career of a leading general.
4. The strategic importance of the Mississippi.
5. West Point graduates in the war.
6. Drafts.
7. The government of the Confederate States.
8. Lincoln as a representative American.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—The great series known as *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, still in course of publication, and the Congressional documents, are the primary authorities for the history of the Civil War; but they are difficult to use for other than detailed study. Moore's *Rebellion Record* is a smaller and very useful collection. McPherson's *History of the Rebellion* is the most important single volume. Many important documents are given in the *American Annual Cyclopædia*, 1861-65. The writings and memoirs of the principal actors are indispensable: among the most important are the collected works of Lincoln, Seward, and Sumner, and the memoirs of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. The contemporary pictures in *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Weekly* are instructive.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The literature of the Civil War is enormous. The best military history, as far as it goes, is Ropes's *Story of the Civil War*: unfortunately the narrative stops with 1862. Of the larger comprehensive histories, that of Rhodes is the best. Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War* is the best single-volume account. The *History of the Civil War* by the Comte de Paris, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (Century Co.), and *Campaigns of the Civil War* (Scribner's Sons), are important. The most elaborate biographical treatment of the period is Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*. There are numerous biographies of leaders on both sides, among the most important being Badeau's *Grant*, Mahan's *Farragut*, and Cooke's *Robert E. Lee* and *Stonewall Jackson*. The volumes in the *Great Commanders* series are useful, but differ much in merit.

The political phases of Lincoln's administration are treated at length in the histories of Schouler, and Rhodes, and Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*. To these should be added Callender's *Thaddeus Stevens*, Barnes's *Thurlow Weed*, Gorham's *Stanton*, Bigelow's *Samuel J. Tilden*, C. F. Adams's *Charles Francis Adams*, Greeley's *American Conflict*, and Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress*. On the slavery issue see also Wilson's *Slave Power* and Garrison's *William Lloyd Garrison*. The *American Annual Cyclopædia* has marked value for reference.

ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE.—Moore's *The Civil War in Song and Story*; G. C. Eggleston's *American War Ballads and Lyrics*; W. G. Simms's *War Poetry of the South*; Alcott's *Hospital*

Sketches; J. E. Cooke's *Hill to Hill* and *Wearing of the Gray*; Cable's *War Diary of a Union Woman in the South*; C. C. Coffin's *Winning his Way*; Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*; M. E. M. Davis's *In War Time at La Rose Blanche*; W. L. Goss's *Jed*; J. C. Harris's *On the Plantation*; S. Weir Mitchell's *In War Time* and *Roland Blake*; T. N. Page's *Two Little Confederates* and *Among the Camps*; E. C. Stedman's *Alice of Monmouth*; Townsend's *Katy of Caloctin*; Bryant's *Our Country's Call*, *The Death of Slavery*, and *Abraham Lincoln*; Holmes's *In War Time*; Longfellow's *The Cumberland*; Lowell's *Harvard Commemoration Ode* and *Memorie Positum*; T. B. Read's *Sheridan's Ride*; Whittier's *In War Time*; Whitman's *My Captain*.

CHAPTER XX

RECONSTRUCTION

(I) JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION: 1865-9

ANDREW JOHNSON, Tennessee, Vice-President and President.

751. The New President.—Andrew Johnson, elected Vice-President with Lincoln, became President at Lincoln's death. He was



ANDREW JOHNSON.

a "poor white," who had worked his way upward until he had been sent to Congress, had become Governor of his State, and was then sent to the United States Senate. He was an outspoken Union man, who held to the Union even after his State seceded; and, although he had always been a Democrat, the Republicans nominated him in 1864 in order to get the votes of those Democrats who supported the war. In this

they were only repeating the mistake of Tyler's case

(§ 500). Johnson wished to punish the rich and influential Southern leaders; but he cared little about the negroes who had been set free by the war. The Republicans were determined to protect the freedmen, even if they had to punish the seceding States in order to do it; while Johnson was determined that the States should not be punished. Johnson was a passionate man, and hasty of speech; and he soon managed to bring about a quarrel with Congress, which lasted throughout his term of office. His term had scarcely begun before every one saw what a terrible misfortune it had been to lose the wise, kindly, large-hearted and large-minded Lincoln when the country needed him so much.

(1) *Reconstruction.*

752. Disbanding the Army.—Many persons had thought that it would be very dangerous to break up the armies at the end of the war; that the million of soldiers would neither seek nor find work, but would join in lawless companies for robbery. Nothing of the kind followed. The men, except about 50,000, who were retained as a standing army, were paid off and sent home at the rate of 300,000 a month. The old soldiers turned out to be better lawyers, editors, managers, and workmen than they had been before the war, through the habits of prompt obedience learned in the army.

753. The Problem of Reconstruction.—Some of the most difficult questions of American history presented themselves in the six years from 1865 to 1871, in which the American people tried to straighten out a state of affairs which had been completely tangled by the Civil War and its results. The first question was, What should be done with the voters of the seceding States? The Northern

States were each divided politically among two nearly equal parties, one party controlling some States and the other party controlling the others. But Southern voters had for years thought of hardly anything in politics except the defence of slavery. All the Southern States were thus in the habit of acting together: they formed what is now often called a "solid South." They had so nearly a majority of both Houses of Congress that a very little help from parts of the North would at once give them control of the government, and the power to make laws as to the national debt, pensions, and other expenses of the war. And yet there was no express law to prevent them from taking part at once in the government. It was, in fact, equally hard to let them in or to keep them out.

754. The President's Feeling.—President Johnson was always a hearty Union man. He had expressed great anxiety to hang some of the Confederate leaders, and his first act as President was to offer large rewards for the capture of Davis and other leaders, on the charge of planning Lincoln's murder. But Johnson had been a Southern "poor white": his feeling was altogether one of hostility to the richer Southerners who had brought about the war; and he had no great anxiety for the protection of the "freedmen."¹ He was what was called a War Democrat: that is, he was anxious to maintain the Union, but equally anxious that the States should each be free from interference by the Union. It was certain from the

¹ "Freedmen" was the usual name for the former slaves, set free by the war. During the war they were often called "contrabands," a name said to have been invented by General Butler. Runaway slaves had come into his camp, and the law directed him to return them to their owners, a thing which he was determined not to do. He got over the difficulty by declaring the slaves "contraband of war," like gunpowder, or any other valuable war material, which must not be allowed to pass into the enemy's possession.

beginning that he would never consent "to keep the seceding States out."

755. The Southern State Governments, when Johnson became President, were in complete confusion. The Union cavalry forces were ranging through the South, capturing governors and other leading men, and sending them to forts for safe-keeping. They were eventually released after a short imprisonment; but at the time no one was quite sure that the Confederate leaders would not all be hanged or shot for treason. Every Southern man who could have been of service in government was only anxious to keep out of the way, and almost all semblance of government disappeared. The first business was to get some form of government that would maintain order.

756. The President's Plan of reconstruction was, first, to appoint provisional, or temporary, governors for each State. These governors called conventions of delegates, elected by the white people, the former voters. These conventions, when they met, did three things: they repealed or declared void the ordinances of secession, promised never to pay any debt incurred in supporting the Confederacy, and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, which Congress had proposed early in 1865. Before the end of the year 1865, all the governments of the seceding States had been reorganized according to the President's plan, or "my policy," as he often called it. Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas had already been reorganized, in much the same manner, under President Lincoln, and were not interfered with.

757. The Thirteenth Amendment, forever abolishing slavery, having been ratified by three-fourths of the States, was declared a part of the Constitution in December, 1865. It was necessary because the Emancipation

Proclamation (§ 669) had only freed the slaves, but did not prevent a new establishment of slavery.

758. The Treatment of the Freedmen was a difficult matter to manage. The Southern people did not believe that the freedmen would willingly work now that they no longer had the slave-driver to force them to it. The laws passed by the new governments of the seceding States were, therefore, usually designed to force the freedmen to work under penalty of being declared vagrants and sent to jail and hard labor. To most of the Northern people this looked very much like setting up slavery again under a new name; and their representatives in Congress, when Congress met in December, 1865, refused for the time to admit any members from the seceding States.

759. A New Issue was thus brought into politics. The President thought that the Republican majority in Congress had no more right to keep out members from the seceding States than those States had to attempt to leave the Union. He was supported by the Northern Democrats, and also by the Southern people, who did not count for much, however, so long as their representatives were not admitted. The Republicans had a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress, sufficient to pass laws over the President's veto. They had not yet formed any plan: they were only determined not to admit the Southern members until the safety of the freedmen should be made certain. In this they were supported by the Republican party of the North; and the whole struggle turned upon the elections in 1866 for the Congress which was to meet in 1867.

760. The Congressional Elections of 1866 resulted in the complete success of the Republicans. They were to have the same two-thirds majority in the next Congress, and for the next two years could pass such laws as they

thought best, without any obstruction from the President's veto. They had now more fully formed their plan of reconstruction, and were able to carry it into effect. Tennessee was readmitted to the Union in 1866, and its members were received by Congress. The State had been reorganized in such a manner that the rights of the freedmen seemed quite secure. The plan of Congress had two leading purposes: the freedmen were to vote; and the Confederate leaders were not to vote. These purposes were to be reached by putting all the seceding States under military governors, who should call new conventions to form State governments. The power to vote for delegates to these conventions was given to the freedmen, but not to the leading Confederates. If the new forms of government should allow freedmen to vote, and if the new governments should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment (§ 763), which denied to the leading Confederates the power to hold office, Congress would admit the Southern Senators and Representatives.

761. The Reconstruction Acts were passed by Congress in March, 1867, over the veto of the President. They embodied the plan of Congress, as just explained; and the President executed them by appointing the military governors. These governors, supported by portions of the army, took care that in forming the new governments freedmen should be allowed to vote, and leading Confederates should be forbidden to vote.

762. The Work of Reconstruction went on through the years 1867 and 1868; and in June, 1868, six States were readmitted to representation in Congress: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina. It is not difficult to understand why the Reconstruction Acts were bitterly disliked by the Southern whites, for they made the negroes, who had been slaves

but two years before, equal or superior to their former masters. It was hoped in the North that the freedmen would be made secure by having the right to vote for representatives in the State governments. We shall see hereafter how this resulted (§ 789). But for the first few years the whites were powerless, and the freedmen had their full share in the government. Four States, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, refused to yield, and were not readmitted until 1870 (§ 788). Tennessee had been admitted in 1866 (§ 760).

763. The Fourteenth Amendment, proposed by Congress in 1866, was ratified and became a part of the Constitution in July, 1868. It provided that no State should take away the privileges of citizens of the United States; that the higher class of Confederate office-holders should hold no office until pardoned by Congress; that the debt of the United States should be paid in full; and that the Confederate debt should never be paid. By "privileges of citizens" was meant the right of the freedmen to be treated exactly like whites in making and enforcing laws.

764. The Reconstructed Governments at once took control of their States. Their State constitutions, as has been stated, allowed the freedmen to vote, while they forbade the leading Confederates to vote or hold office until pardoned by Congress. The negroes, with a few white leaders, voted together; the majority of the whites also voted together; and thus the voting population of the seceding States was divided on "the color line." The unhappy results were very soon visible (§ 789).

(2) *Impeachment.*

765. The President and Congress.—While Congress was thus successfully carrying out its plan of reconstruction,

its quarrel with the President was steadily growing more bitter. Bill after bill was passed by Congress, vetoed by the President, and at once passed over the veto. The President was a passionate man and hasty of speech. He believed that the Republican majority in Congress was keeping the Southern members out only in order to be able to pass bills over his veto; and he did not hesitate to express his dislike of Congress in public speeches. Of course this made Congress still more ready to pass bills which were disagreeable to him.

766. The Tenure of Office Act was passed by Congress in March, 1867, over the President's veto. It forbade the President to remove the higher grades of office-holders without asking and receiving the consent of the Senate. Johnson, believing that the Constitution gave Congress no power to pass such an act, determined to disobey it. He removed Stanton, the Secretary of War, and when the Senate refused to consent to the removal, the President paid no attention to the refusal, and ordered Stanton's successor to take possession of the office.



EDWIN M. STANTON.

767. The Impeachment of the President followed at once. The House of Representatives voted to impeach him; that is, to accuse him of having disobeyed the laws, and of being unfit to be President. An impeachment must be tried by the Senate, and it is necessary that two-thirds of

the Senators should vote to sustain the charges in order to convict the accused. In this case there was a long trial before the Senate, and the vote was 35 for to 19 against conviction. This was not a two-thirds vote, and the President was acquitted.

768. The Presidential Election of 1868 turned on Reconstruction, as it had been managed by Congress. The Republicans supported it, and nominated Grant, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana. The Democrats opposed it, and nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri. The Republicans were successful, and Grant and Colfax were elected.¹

(3) *Internal Affairs.*

769. The National Debt, at the end of the war, was about \$2,850,000,000 (§ 748). Other governments have debts as large, or larger; but they do not always feel it necessary to pay them promptly. The American people, on the contrary, now attacked their debt as vigorously as if it had been a hostile army in the field. Taxes on imported goods were not decreased for fear of foreign competition in manufactures; and whatever money could be spared out of the large receipts of the government was applied to paying off the debt. Before the armies were quite disbanded, \$30,000,000 had been paid; and this policy continued to be perseveringly followed up.

770. Mexico, at the end of the war, was still occupied by French troops, against the will of the Mexicans (§ 695). The United States now began to urge their withdrawal in more decided language, and France con-

¹ Of the 294 electoral votes, Grant and Colfax received 214, and Seymour and Blair 80. Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia were not allowed to vote, as they had not yet been "reconstructed" and readmitted.

sented to take them away. The United States had no objection to Maximilian's remaining as emperor, if the Mexicans wished it. He refused to leave with the French troops, and, in 1867, was captured and shot by the Mexicans. The United States asked that his life should be spared, but the request was refused.

771. The Fenians were a body of men of Irish birth who felt that they had grievances against Great Britain. Most of them had served in the army, had grown fond of soldiering, and now wanted "a brush with the British." Canada was a part of the British Empire, and about 1,500 of the Fenians invaded it in 1866 from Buffalo. As there was no war between the United States and Great Britain, Americans could not be allowed to make war on their own account; and the President promptly interfered, and stopped the movement.

772. The Atlantic Telegraph.—The telegraph had not been in operation long before it was found that lines could be worked under water. This suggested the idea of a line from America to Europe, over the flat bed of the Atlantic Ocean between Ireland and Newfoundland. Such a line had been laid (1857), but failed to work long. It was now tried again, and proved a success (1866). Other cables of the kind have since been laid, so that it is now hardly possible that any accident should entirely break off telegraphic communication between the United States and Europe.

773. Alaska was bought from Russia in 1867 for \$7,200,000. As it is the last addition on the mainland of North America, a table is given here, showing the original territory of the United States, and the successive additions.

	Square Miles.
United States in 1783 (§ 263).....	827,844
Louisiana, 1803 (§ 334).....	1,171,931
Florida, 1819 (§ 414).....	59,268
Texas, 1845 (§ 516).....	376,133
Mexican Cession, 1848 (§ 543).....	545,783
Gadsden Purchase, 1853 (§ 544).....	45,535
Alaska, 1867 (§ 773).....	577,390
Total in 1894.....	3,603,884

774. Nebraska.—Nebraska, a part of the Louisiana purchase (§§ 334, 573), was admitted as a State (1867), with the provision that it should allow negroes to vote.

(II) GRANT'S ADMINISTRATIONS: 1869-77

ULYSSES S. GRANT, Ill., President. } SCHUYLER COLFAX, Ind., Vice-President, 1869-73.
 } HENRY WILSON, Mass., Vice-President, 1873-77.

(1) *Foreign Affairs.*

775. The New President.—General Ulysses S. Grant, who left his place as head of the army to become President in 1869, was then nearly fifty years old, and in the prime and vigor of life. As a general, his strong point had been his determination, and it was on this that the country relied in making him President. It wanted as President a man who would hold everything that could be held of what had been secured by the war, in the supremacy of the national authority and in the rights of the freedmen; and it is not easy to name any one who would have done this work better than Grant.

776. The Alabama Claims were an outgrowth of the Civil War. That every nation was bound to prevent persons living in its territory from waging war against a friendly nation was the claim of the United States. Great Britain had not been properly careful to prevent the

Alabama and other Confederate privateers from escaping to sea (§ 672). Hence our government maintained that Great Britain ought now to pay for at least part of the damage done by them. The answer of Great Britain was that there had been no laws, at that time, under which the government could seize the privateers; but that matters would be better arranged in future. To this the United States answered that Great Britain was still bound to pay damages for her neglect to pass the needful laws in due season.

777. The Treaty of Washington, in 1871, ended the long dispute between the two countries. It referred all matters in dispute between Great Britain and the United States to arbitrators, or umpires. The *Alabama* claims were to be decided by five arbitrators, to be appointed by Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil. The arbitrators met at Geneva, in Switzerland, in 1872, heard the evidence and arguments on both sides, and decided that Great Britain should pay \$15,500,000 to the United States for the damage done. The Northwestern boundary, between Vancouver's Island and the United States, was still doubtful and disputed (§ 523); and the treaty of Washington left the decision to the Emperor of Germany. He decided in favor of the boundary as the United States had claimed it. The Canadian fisheries had also caused disputes. Great Britain claimed that American fishermen made use of the shores near the fisheries, and that the United States ought to pay for this privilege. The treaty of Washington referred this question to another board of arbitrators, whose decision was that the United States should pay \$5,500,000 to Great Britain.

778. San Domingo, the eastern half of the island of Hayti, is a republic, inhabited chiefly by negroes. Its

rulers were anxious, and its people were willing, to be annexed to the United States. A treaty of annexation was agreed upon in 1869, but it provoked great opposition in the United States, for it would have brought in a great number of ignorant voters, of whom the country had already enough to take care of. The United States Senate refused to confirm the treaty, and it fell through.

779. The Virginus was an American vessel which, in 1873, was carrying supplies to Cuba, to help insurgents against Spain. The business was unlawful, and the vessel was captured on the ocean by a Spanish war-vessel and taken to Cuba. The Spanish authorities at once put the crew and passengers on trial, and shot a number of them who were adjudged guilty. This harsh punishment excited great indignation in the United States, and there was some danger of war; but the government of Spain succeeded in stopping the bloody work of its agents in Cuba. Those of the prisoners who were still alive were sent to Spain, and were released after an imprisonment.

(2) *Internal Affairs.*

780. Grant's First Administration (1869-73) was marked by general prosperity. The production of gold and silver in the Pacific States and Territories increased rapidly. Agriculture was flourishing, for wars and bad harvests in Europe made temporarily a great market for American grain and cattle. New agricultural regions in the far West began to be settled. Railroads were being built in every direction. More miles of railroad were built in the United States during these four years than had been built in any other country of the world during all the years past. Indeed, more were built than were yet necessary, for every man who had money to use was eager to share in the profits of railroad-building.

781. Grant's Second Administration (1873-77) was the opposite of the first. Extravagant railroad-building brought on a financial panic, which began in 1873 and did not come to an end until about 1879. Many railroads had been built in parts of the country where they did not pay interest on the expense of building them. As soon as those who had built them began to wish to sell, nobody wished to buy. Money became scarce; many great fortunes were lost; and there was general distress. In addition to financial troubles, there were many political scandals (§ 794), ending in a dangerous disputed election (§ 798), so that there have been few periods in our history when the general feeling about the future has been more gloomy than during this administration.

782. The Census of 1870 showed a population of 38,558,371, an increase of 7,000,000 since 1860 (§ 588). At previous rates, in time of peace, the increase should have been about 10,000,000; but the war, with its loss of life, decrease of immigration, and general confusion, had made the difference. Most of the Southern States had hardly any increase.

783. The Pacific Railroads.—The Central Pacific railroad, from Omaha to San Francisco, was completed in 1869. It had been begun in 1862, during the heat of the war, and Congress had assisted it by giving the company public lands, and by promising to pay the interest on its bonds if it should be unable to do so. The completion of this railroad made it possible for the traveller to cross the continent in a week; and an easy passage was provided for mails and merchandise between Europe and Asia. Americans had made a substitute for the "north-west passage," sought for by early discoverers (§ 21). The Northern Pacific railroad was completed in 1883. It runs from Duluth and St. Paul through North Dakota

to Puget Sound, where it meets the lines running down the coast. A number of other lines running to the Pacific have since then been constructed, so that the railway intercommunication between east and west has been greatly facilitated.

784. Great Fires were numerous during the years 1871 and 1872. Chicago was burned in October, 1871. This was the greatest fire in modern times. It began in the poorer part of the city, and was hurried by a high wind into the richest portion, among banks, business houses, and the handsomest of the private residences. When it ceased burning, on the third day, 100,000 people were homeless, \$200,000,000 in property had been destroyed, and for miles along the lake front there were only ruins. In the same month great forest-fires swept over Wisconsin, and more than 1,500 persons were burned to death. In November, 1872, a large part of Boston was burned, with a loss of \$70,000,000. The news of each of these disasters had hardly been telegraphed when train-loads of provisions and supplies were started from all parts of the country to the place where they were needed. Rebuilding began at once; and Chicago and Boston soon rose from their ruins, finer cities than before their misfortune.

785. Indian Troubles were quite numerous during Grant's second administration. The Modoc Indians, living near Klamath Lake, in southern Oregon, were ordered by the government to go to another reservation; but they refused to go, and killed the peace commissioners sent to them. Their country, the "lava-beds," was a region of old volcanoes, with underground passages miles in length; and it was not until 1873, after nearly a year's fighting, that the troops could drive them out of their hiding-places. The Sioux Indians, under Sitting Bull, were also troublesome. In 1876, they were gradually driven toward the

Big Horn River, in southern Montana. Here General Custer, with a single cavalry regiment, rashly charged the whole tribe, and he and all his men were killed. Fresh troops afterward arrived, and drove the Indians into British America.

786. Colorado.—The thirty-eighth State admitted to the Union was Colorado (1876). It was formed partly from the Louisiana purchase and partly from the Mexican cession (§ 543).

787. The Centennial, or hundredth, anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated in 1876. As a part of the celebration, an International Exposition was held at Philadelphia from May until November. In its great buildings were collected specimens of the productions, manufactures, and arts of every country. It was visited by nearly ten million people, and served excellently as a general educator.

(3) *The End of Reconstruction.*

788. Reconstruction was completed in 1870, by the readmission of Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia (§ 762), which hitherto had not been willing to change their forms of government so as to meet the wishes of Congress. Early in 1871 all the States were represented in Congress, for the first time since 1861.

789. The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified by three-fourths of the States, and became a part of the Constitution in 1870. It had been proposed by Congress the year before. It forbade the United States, or any State, to prevent any person from voting because of his "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Negro suffrage was thus, apparently, ensured. It was hoped that the Southern negroes would now be able to take care of themselves by electing representatives in their State

governments. Unfortunately, the freedmen were the most ignorant part of the population. It had been part of the law of slavery to keep them ignorant and to make them afraid of their masters. They were still so ignorant and timid that they knew but one way of voting, and that was to vote together and against the whites. State legislatures have the power to lay taxes, and all the Southern property on which taxes were laid belonged to the whites. The whites therefore used every means to keep the negroes from voting, for fear negro legislatures would make the taxes unbearably heavy. Sometimes they paid their negro workmen to stay at home on election-day; sometimes they threatened to discharge them if they voted; and thus, in several of the States, the whites soon got control of the State governments again.¹

790. Disorder in the South soon became very common in those States in which the bribes or threats above-mentioned were not enough to keep the legislatures out of the control of the freedmen. The whites asserted that the reconstructed governments made bad laws and stole the public moneys. The reconstructed governments asserted that the whites resisted the laws by violence, and whipped or killed negroes in order to prevent them from voting. Both assertions seem to have been correct. The disorders were worst in South Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana, but they extended more or less to all the seceding States.

791. The Reconstructed Governments appealed to the President for help. The Constitution and laws provide

¹ "Carpet-bagger" was a name given by Southern whites to Northern men who settled in the South and voted with the negroes. The name was given to them because they were said to have brought nothing but their carpet-bags with them from the North. Many of them were former Union soldiers. A "scalawag" was a native Southern white who voted with the negroes, and was considered a traitor by the whites.

that a State government which cannot put down disorder within its limits may obtain support from the President. President Grant sent troops to the assistance of the States which asked for it, and thus kept their governments in existence. Nevertheless, in one State after another, the whites succeeded in carrying the elections and getting quiet control of the State government; and the Federal troops were then no longer asked for. In this manner, before the end of Grant's second term, the whites had obtained control of all the Southern State governments excepting those of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. Even in these three States, they claimed to have carried the elections, but the Federal troops still prevented them from turning out the reconstructed governments.

792. The Ku-Klux-Klan was a secret society of whites, extending all through the Southern States. It operated originally as a sort of police to keep the freedmen in subjection. It then attacked the white Republicans, the "carpet-baggers" or "scalawags." Finally, it seems to have gone into the work of committing murders and outrages for pay or spite, so that the better class of whites were compelled to aid in putting it down. Before this took place, Congress passed a number of severe laws, intended to put an end to the society and its practices of riding by night in masks and disguises to terrify, whip, or murder freedmen and white Republicans.

793. Reconstruction, so far as it aimed to make freedmen voters, was thus a failure in all but three States before 1876; and even in these three States, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, it became a failure in 1877 (§ 802). Educationally, however, its effect upon the negro has been good. As a slave, the negro had been only a thing, a piece of property, without any rights. Reconstruction has given him every right but that of

voting; and even this right, though still often denied him, is slowly being admitted, as the negro shows himself worthy of it.

(4) *Political Affairs.*

794. Political Scandals were unhappily numerous during Grant's administrations. A Whiskey Ring was discovered in the West in 1875, composed of distillers and revenue officers, and formed for the purpose of swindling the government out of the taxes on the manufacture of whiskey. Many of the Indian troubles came from the frauds of government agents who cheated the Indians out of their allowances. It was charged that the scheme for annexing San Domingo (§ 778) was contrived by government agents who owned land in San Domingo, and wished to increase its value by annexation. One of the President's Cabinet was impeached for taking bribes, but escaped by resigning; and several members of Congress were charged with accepting shares of Credit Mobilier stock,¹ given them as inducements to buy their votes. Very many of these scandals were the result of the system of appointing men to office for political services, which had been begun under Jackson. (§ 467).

795. Liberal Republicans.—A few of these political scandals had come to public view during Grant's first administration. As those who were engaged in them were mainly Republicans, the Democrats used them as arguments that the whole Republican party was equally bad, and some of the Republicans began to feel very much inclined to leave their party. Moreover, many of

¹ The Credit Mobilier was organized to take contracts for work on the Pacific Railroad. It wished to have certain bills passed by Congress; and it secured votes in Congress by giving stock to members.

the Republicans were not satisfied that Federal troops should be used so constantly to support the reconstructed governments: they thought that if these governments were not able to sustain themselves, they were not fit to exist. These two reasons caused the formation of the "Liberal Republican" party in 1871-2.

796. The Presidential Election of 1872 was influenced largely by the state of affairs in the South. The Liberal Republicans nominated Horace Greeley, of New York, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, and the Democrats accepted these nominations as their own. The Republicans nominated President Grant and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, and approved the President's use of Federal troops at the South. The Republicans were successful, and Grant and Wilson were elected President and Vice-President.¹

797. Grant's Second Term was marked by a great increase in the scandals which became public. Few persons believed that the President was implicated in them, but they were used as political arguments against the party which had elected him. In 1876, the Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, declaring their purpose to "reform the government." The Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, declaring that the government would be safe if left under their control. The Independent, Greenback, or National party also nominated candidates, but they obtained no electoral votes. The main object of the party was to have all paper money issued by the government, and none by banks. At this election there seemed to be

¹ Grant and Wilson received 286 of the 366 electoral votes. Greeley died soon after the election. His mind had been overthrown by the excitement of the struggle.

no great disputed principles between the two parties: one party wished to get in, and the other to stay in.

798. The Presidential Election of 1876 was thrown into complete confusion by the state of affairs at the South. It must be remembered that when the people at large vote, they do not vote directly for President and Vice-President: they vote for electors, and these electors afterward vote for the President and Vice-President (§ 295). When the election by the people was over, it was found that, outside of Florida and Louisiana, each party had obtained nearly the same number of electors, and that both parties claimed to have carried the two deciding States, Florida and Louisiana.¹ The reconstructed governments, on account of violence in their States, had usually appointed "returning boards," commonly of five men, whose duty was to examine the vote of the State, and throw out the votes of any counties or parts of counties in which voters had been kept away from the polls by intimidation or violence. In Florida and Louisiana, the Democrats had a majority of the votes cast; but the Republicans had a majority after the returning boards had thrown out the votes of those counties which they decided against. The Democrats protested that this was illegal, as it made the returning boards masters of the election; the Republicans defended it, on the ground that any other arrangement would make force and fraud masters of the election.

799. Congress had for about fifty years claimed and exercised the power to decide disputes about electoral votes (§ 831). But now the Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives; the Republicans had a majority in the Senate; and it was certain that the two

¹ There were other points in dispute, but these two States formed the most important element in the controversy.

bodies would not agree in any decision about Florida and Louisiana. When Congress met in December, 1876, it was plain to all men that Congress might argue the matter without any result until March, that then two Presidents would claim the office, and that civil war between their supporters might follow.

800. The Electoral Commission.—Congress discussed the situation until it was found that no agreement could be reached by the two Houses, and then the moderate men of both parties united in passing a special law to create an Electoral Commission. This commission was to be composed of fifteen members, five of them judges of the Supreme Court, five Senators, and five Representatives. The Commissioners were to consider the disputed points, and to decide what seemed to them the true votes. Their decision was to hold good, unless the two Houses should agree to overrule it, and every one knew that the two Houses could not agree in anything. The decision was therefore really with the commission.

801. The Decision.—It had been intended that seven of the commissioners should be Republicans, seven Democrats, and the fifteenth a person who was not an adherent of either party. This fifteenth member was unable to serve, and a Republican took his place. It was then found that on disputed questions the seven Democrats and the eight Republicans voted unitedly, so that all the important points were decided in favor of the Republicans by votes of eight to seven. The Houses did not agree in changing any of the commission's decisions; and R. B. Hayes became President, and W. A. Wheeler Vice-President.¹

802. The Result was not pleasant to many of the Demo-

¹ There were 185 electoral votes thus declared for Hayes and Wheeler, and 184 for Tilden and Hendricks.

crats, but the country was glad to find any means of escape from a pressing danger. One result was that the remaining reconstructed governments in the South were left to their fate. Unable to stand alone, and supported only by Federal troops, it was seen that their control of important electoral votes had thrown the whole country into a position of extreme peril. Even before the new administration came into office, President Grant had withdrawn the Federal troops from the support of the reconstructed governments, and his action met general approval. Within two months, the last of the reconstructed governments disappeared, and a "solid South" took their place (§ 753). All the Southern States were controlled by the white voters, and all were Democratic.

803. The Leading Events of the administrations of Johnson and Grant were as follows:

1865-69: Johnson's Term of Office.

1865: Disbanding of the armies.....	§ 752
Southern State governments reorganized.....	756
Thirteenth Amendment ratified.....	757
1866: Tennessee readmitted.....	760
Atlantic telegraph laid.....	772
Fenian invasion of Canada.....	771
1867: Reconstruction Acts passed by Congress.....	761
Tenure of Office Act passed by Congress.....	766
Nebraska admitted.....	774
Maximilian shot.....	770
Alaska purchased.....	773
1868: Removal of Stanton.....	766
Impeachment of the President.....	767
Six States readmitted.....	762
Fourteenth Amendment ratified.....	763
1869-73: Grant's First Term.....	780
1869: Pacific Railroad completed.....	783
San Domingo treaty.....	778

1870: Reconstruction completed.....	§ 788
Fifteenth Amendment ratified.....	789
1871: Ku-Klux disorders.....	792
Burning of Chicago.....	784
Treaty of Washington.....	777
1872: Burning of Boston.....	784
Modoc war.....	785
1873-77: Grant's Second Term.....	781
1873: Beginning of the panic.....	781
The <i>Virginus</i> case.....	779
1876: Centennial celebration.....	787
Admission of Colorado.....	786
Sioux war.....	785
1877: Electoral Commission.....	800

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Maximilian in Mexico.
2. The impeachment of President Johnson.
3. The Ku-Klux-Klan.
4. "Carpet-bag" government in a Southern State (*e.g.*, Mississippi).

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

SOURCES.—Besides the Congressional documents, many important papers will be found in Cooper's *American Politics*, McPherson's *History of Reconstruction*, and the *American Annual Cyclopædia*. The *Congressional Globe* was succeeded in 1873 by the *Congressional Record*. Magazines and newspapers, though difficult to use, are of indispensable importance for the years subsequent to the Civil War. The newspaper almanacs, especially those of the New York *Tribune* and New York *World*, are very useful for reference, particularly on statistical matters.

NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS.—The work of Bryant and Gay is the only extended narrative history which deals at any length with the period since 1865. Andrews's *History of the Last Quarter Century* is a useful medley of information, with interesting pictures. The constitutional aspects of reconstruction are ably treated in Dunning's *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*.

CHAPTER XXI

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(I) HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION: 1877-81

R. B. HAYES, Ohio, President. WM. A. WHEELER, N. Y., Vice-President.

(1) *Internal Affairs.*

804. Hayes's Administration proved to be a period of calm and contentment, such as the country had not known



R. B. HAYES.

for many years. The war was over, and its passions were dying away. Reconstruction had done all that it could do, and had shown what it could not do. The panic of 1873 was passing off gradually, as the growth of the country brought into use and profit the railroads which had been useless and unprofitable. The country's history during these four years is mainly the story of the daily labor of fifty millions of people who were working busily, filling new regions like Dakota, and selling the produce of

their labor in enormous quantities to other nations.¹

¹ The census of 1880 showed a population of 50,155,783, an increase of

805. Electricity was brought into use, during this period, in many new and wonderful ways. It had already been put to use in the telegraph (§ 510). Now the telephone was perfected, and the electric light was brought into use for lighting houses and streets. The first promising attempts were made to use electricity as a means of transmitting power, in driving ordinary machinery and locomotive engines.

806. Railroad Strikes were numerous during the summer of 1877. The railroads attempted to lower the wages of the men; most of the men refused to work for the new wages, and some of them refused to allow the trains to run. In some cases they even resisted the troops which were protecting the railroads; and there were riots at Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, and other places. The worst riot took place at Pittsburgh, where the rioters held control of the city for several days. Nearly 100 lives were lost, and \$3,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, before order was restored. After nearly two weeks of general confusion, the disorders were suppressed, and the trains began running regularly again.

807. The Nez Percé Indians were ordered to remove, in 1877, from one reservation to another. They refused, and began war. They were pursued for 1,500 miles, from Idaho through Montana, and were finally compelled to surrender. But their skilful retreat was much admired by the officers opposed to them: they marched and fought like white troops, did no scalping, and killed no women or children.

808. Yellow Fever attacked the Southern States in 1878, and nearly 15,000 persons died of it. The attack was worst at Memphis and New Orleans, and those cities 11,000,000 since 1870. The highest rates of increase were in the Southern States.

were at one time abandoned by every one who could leave them. Assistance of every kind, medicines, money, and nurses, was sent to the afflicted region from all parts of the country.

809. The Mississippi River had for a long time been hard to control. It brings with it vast quantities of mud, which gradually drops to the bottom of the river. Great shallows are thus formed at the mouth of the river, so as to hinder navigation; and the level of the river is raised, so that any freshet pours over the banks, and floods the neighboring country. The first difficulty was removed, during this period, by narrowing the mouth of the river. The current was thus made swift enough to scour out the mud and carry it into the Gulf of Mexico; and ocean steamers can now pass up the Mississippi to New Orleans. The second difficulty has not yet been entirely overcome (§ 821).

(2) *Finances.*

810. Silver had for some years been decreasing in value all over the world, partly because of the enormous production of the silver-mines of Nevada and other Pacific States and Territories. The value of gold or silver, like that of anything else, depends not only on the use that people have for it, but also on the cost of getting it. About this time silver began to be used less as a money metal, Germany in particular largely discarding it. At the same time in Nevada the miners had found new and cheaper ways of getting the silver out of the ore; and the mines there were yearly sending out larger quantities of silver. For both reasons its price, as compared with gold, was steadily falling.

811. Demonetization of Silver.—The laws of the United States allowed both gold and silver to be coined into

dollars. As the amount required to make a silver dollar was then worth more than the amount required to make a gold dollar, few silver dollars were coined, for the owner of silver could exchange it for gold, and have the gold coined into more dollars than the amount of silver would have made when coined. Hence, in 1873, Congress "demonetized" silver, *i.e.*, no longer allowed silver to be coined into dollars.

812. Remonetization of Silver.—After 1873 the silver previously required to make a silver dollar became worth less than a gold dollar. Had silver not been "demonetized," no one would now have had gold coined into dollars, for reasons just the opposite of those given above (§ 811). Thus debts contracted in gold dollars could have been paid in silver dollars of less value. Owing to the demands of the debtor class, Congress in 1878 partially "remonetized" silver, *i.e.*, spent monthly a certain amount for silver, and coined the purchased silver into dollars.¹

813. Resumption.—Ever since 1862 (§ 670), paper money, issued by the government or by national banks, had been the only money in general use. It had been the only money used by the government, except that the government demanded gold for the duties on imports, and paid gold for the interest on the public debt. It had been worth less, and sometimes much less, than gold, partly because such large amounts of it had been issued, and partly because it had sometimes seemed doubtful whether the government would be able finally to pay gold for it. It had been decided to resume specie payments; and the

¹ This law is called the Bland-Allison Act. From 1789 until 1873 only 8,000,000 silver dollars were coined. From 1878 until 1890 about 400,000,000 silver dollars were coined. Most of them are still in the Treasury, for the people do not find them as convenient as paper currency.

government was prepared, January 1, 1879, to pay in gold or silver any of its notes that were brought to it for payment. But the notes were by this time equal in value to gold, and more valuable than silver, so that most people preferred to keep the paper money, on account of its convenience.

814. Refunding was also accomplished during this period. For a long time, a high rate of interest had been paid on the public debt, so that the United States paid between one hundred and one hundred and fifty million dollars a year for interest. It was now so certain that the debt would be paid, that men who had money to lend were willing to lend it to the government at a lower rate of interest. As fast as possible, new bonds were sold at low interest, and the money was used to pay the old bonds. The annual saving in interest was about \$30,000,000. The total amount of the debt was now about \$2,000,000,000 (§ 825).

(3) *Foreign Affairs.*

815. Chinese Immigrants to the Pacific States had become very numerous. They had been accustomed to live far more meanly than white laborers had been used to do, and could therefore work for less wages. White laborers alleged that they had to bid for work at lower wages than were needed to support themselves and their families. The consequence was that there were riots, attacks on the Chinese, and a general hatred of them in California. In 1880, a treaty was made with China which allowed the United States to stop Chinese immigration for a time (§ 829).

(4) *Political Affairs.*

816. Congress and the President were often in conflict during Hayes's administration. The Democrats generally

controlled Congress, and they wished to repeal certain laws which had been passed by former Republican Congresses. The repealing acts were vetoed by the President, and the majority in Congress was not large enough to pass them over the veto (§ 469). The result was that there was a great deal of excitement, and very little was done.

817. In the Presidential Election of 1880 the Democrats nominated Winfield S. Hancock, of New York, and William H. English, of Indiana; and the Republicans nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York. The result was the election of the Republican candidates: they received 214 electoral votes to 155 for their opponents. The popular vote was nearly equally divided. The National, or Greenback, party also nominated candidates, but they received no electoral votes.

(II) GARFIELD'S AND ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATIONS: 1881-5

JAMES A. GARFIELD, O., Pres. CHESTER A. ARTHUR, N. Y., Vice-President and Pres.

818. Death of Garfield.—Garfield was inaugurated March 4, 1881. Four months afterward (July 2), he was shot and mortally wounded by a disappointed man whom he had refused to appoint to office. After an illness of eighty days, the President died (Sept. 19) at Elberon (near Long Branch), New Jersey, to which place he had been removed from Washington. Vice-President Arthur became President at Garfield's death. Congress has since (§ 831) provided that, in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet (§§ 296, 831) shall succeed to the Presidency, in the order of the establishment of their offices.

819. Civil-service Reform. — Since Jackson's time (§ 467), every President had been expected to appoint men to office because they had worked for his party, rather than because they were good public servants. Garfield's death, which was a tragical result of this system of appointment, brought a larger number of people to think of the evils involved in it, and to call for a better



JAMES A. GARFIELD.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

system. Congress (1883) accordingly passed the Civil-service Act, allowing the President to select examiners, and to make appointments on their examination and recommendation of candidates. This method of appointment has been very successful in other countries; and in ours it has been applied to a steadily larger part of the civil service by the Presidents who have succeeded Hayes. It has also been adopted by some of our States and cities.

820. The Yorktown Celebration—The hundredth anniversary of Cornwallis's surrender (§ 261) was celebrated at Yorktown in 1881. In order to show the country's friendship for Great Britain, President Arthur ordered that the celebration should end with a general salute to the British flag.

821. Natural Disasters.—Just after the Civil War, the government had established a Weather Bureau, to give warning by telegraph of the movements of storms. It had been of great service; but it could do nothing to guard against such misfortunes as the overflow of the Mississippi (§ 809), which drove 100,000 persons from their homes in 1882, and the cyclones, or revolving wind-storms, which do great damage every year in the South and West.

822. The Mormons.—Congress passed a stringent law in 1882, intended to put an end to polygamy among the Mormons in Utah (§ 586). The practice of polygamy thereafter decreased (§ 862).

823. The Cincinnati Riots.—The country was startled in 1884 by a mob-outbreak in Cincinnati, which burned the court-house and other public buildings, and kept control of the city for several days until dispersed by the militia. It was then found that the reason for the mob's existence was that justice had been badly executed and criminals had escaped punishment.

824. General Prosperity.—The country had now fully recovered from the panic of 1873 (§ 781). Work was plenty for everybody, and agriculture, trade, and manufactures were flourishing. This was especially noticeable, and for the first time, at the South. That section had found free labor far more profitable than slave labor (§ 597). Its crops were very large; railroads were being built in every direction; rich iron-mines were opened;

and manufactures were appearing as they had never done while the workmen were slaves. Successful expositions at Atlanta (1881) and New Orleans (1884-5) showed the great resources of the "New South," and its wonderful advance since 1865.

825. The Tariff of 1883.—The payment of the debt had gone on so rapidly that the debt was now only about half as large as at the end of the Civil War. It was no longer possible to use so much of the government revenues in paying the debt, for bondholders who had consented to take lower rates of interest (§ 814) had done so on the government's promise not to pay off their bonds for a number of years to come. It was then proposed to decrease the duties on imports, in order to make the government revenues smaller. For that purpose, a new tariff was adopted by Congress, in 1883, on the report of a Tariff Commission, composed of men familiar with the subject. As it turned out, this new tariff made very little reduction in the duties; and the Democrats in Congress made another attempt to reduce them the next year. This brought up the old question of Free Trade or Protection. Duties had been made high in 1861, partly to obtain needed revenue, partly to encourage American manufactures, which would pay new taxes; and they had not been decreased since. To decrease them now would be to have less protection, and the Republicans and protectionist Democrats defeated the proposal to lower the duties. The question of reducing the "surplus revenue" then passed into the Presidential election.

826. Presidential Election of 1884.—The Republicans, declaring in favor of protection, nominated for President James G. Blaine, of Maine, and for Vice-President John A. Logan, of Illinois. The Democrats, declaring in favor of a reduction of the government's surplus revenue,

but saying as little as possible about the general question of free trade or protection, nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The election was decided by the 36 electoral votes (§ 295) of New York, which were cast for Cleveland and Hendricks, and they were elected.¹

827. The Leading Events of the administrations of Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur were as follows:

1877-81: Hayes's Term of Office.	
1877: Nez Percé war.....	§ 807
Railroad strikes.....	806
1878: Yellow-fever epidemic.....	808
Remonetization of silver.....	812
1879: Resumption of specie payments....	813
1880: Treaty with China.....	815
1881-5: Garfield's and Arthur's Terms of Office.	
1881: Death of President Garfield.....	818
Vice-President Arthur succeeds him.	818
Atlanta Exposition.....	824
Yorktown celebration.....	820
1882: Mississippi floods.....	821
Anti-polygamy Act.....	822
Tariff Commission.....	825
1883: New Tariff Act passed.....	825
Civil-service Act passed.....	819
1884: Cincinnati riot.....	823
New Orleans Exposition.....	824

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Restriction of Chinese immigration.
2. Practical benefits of civil-service reform.
3. River and harbor improvement by the national government.

¹ The electoral votes were 219 for Cleveland and Hendricks and 182 for Blaine and Logan. The Prohibition Party, aiming to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors, nominated John P. St. John, of Kansas, and William Daniel, of Maryland, and the former Greenback party (§ 797) nominated Benj. F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and A. M. West, of Mississippi; but none of these received any electoral votes.

4. The pension system.
5. The education of the negro.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

The authorities remain as in Chapter XX. The works of Garfield have been edited by Hinsdale; there is a biography by W. O. Stoddard.

CHAPTER XXII

CLEVELAND AND HARRISON

(I) CLEVELAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION: 1885-9

GROVER CLEVELAND, N. Y., President. T. A. HENDRICKS, Ind., Vice-President.

828. The New President.—The country had not hitherto seen so sudden a rise to prominence as the election of Grover Cleveland as mayor of Buffalo (1881), governor of New York (1882), and President of the United States (1884). Much of this rapid elevation had been due to his fearlessness and admitted integrity; and the circumstances of his administration were such as to test both these qualities.

829. Labor Troubles.—The wealth of the country was increasing enormously, and the number of rich men was increasing with it. If all their wealth should be divided among their fellow citizens, it would give very little to each; but the sight of their apparently easy and pleasant lives was enough to persuade many workingmen



GROVER CLEVELAND.

that they themselves were working harder than was necessary. Great numbers of them formed associations which refused to work except for higher wages and shorter hours, as they had a perfect right to do. But some of them tried to keep other men from taking their places, threatening, injuring, and in some cases killing them; and there was bad feeling when police protection was given to the injured parties. Some employers made "blacklists" of men whom they did not like; and these men could find employment nowhere. The early years of President Cleveland's term were full of these "labor troubles," and of efforts to make laws to settle them. Some rich employers brought large numbers of workmen from Europe at very low wages; and Congress passed a Contract Labor Act, hoping to stop this practice, and a still stronger act against Chinese immigration (§ 815). Some violent men, called Anarchists, mostly from Europe, who wished to destroy all government, made loud threats of disorder, and rose in riot in Chicago. When they had been put down, there were many proposals to check immigration in some way, but they came to nothing.

830. The President's Policy.—President Cleveland had a decided belief that there was a disposition to pass too many acts of Congress, and to pass them too hastily; and he had no fear of putting his belief in practice. He vetoed a number of bills, particularly for special grants of pensions, and thus made the opposition to him more intense. He enforced the Civil-service Act (§ 819), but the old system of appointment continued as to many of the offices to which that act did not apply; and for this he was warmly attacked.

831. The Presidential Succession.—Several important changes, however, were made in regard to the office of President. The Presidential Succession Act provided for

successors in case of the death of both President and Vice-President (§ 818). The Presidential Election Act provided for the settlement by the States of disputes as to choice of electors, such as occurred in 1876 (§ 799). The Tenure of Office Act (§ 766) was repealed.

832. Interstate Commerce Act.—One of the most important laws passed was the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), intended to prevent railroads which operated in more than one State from charging unfair rates for their services. Such practices were forbidden, and a commission of five persons was appointed to hear and try complaints against any railroad disobeying the law. Each State, however, continued to control the railroads operated only within its own territory.

833. Ballot Reform.—During 1887 and 1888 promising efforts began to be made in the different States to change the method of voting to that which had been remarkably successful in Australia, Great Britain, and other countries in stopping bribery and interference with voters, and securing an absolutely secret ballot.

834. Foreign and Naval Affairs.—A French company had been digging a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, while an American company proposed to dig another across Nicaragua. It was felt by many Americans that the United States ought to have control of the successful canal, as an important route for commerce between our Atlantic and Pacific coasts; and yet other nations would not take this kindly. The French company, however, proved a failure, and it broke down in the midst of its work (1889). There were also disputes with Great Britain about the right of American fishermen to buy ice and bait in Canadian ports, and with Germany about a group of islands in the Pacific called Samoa (§ 894). All these misunderstandings were settled peacefully, but they led to the

appropriation of large sums for the construction of improved and more powerful and swift ironclads for the navy.

835.* New States.—Four new States were admitted to the Union in 1889: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. The addition of Wyoming and Idaho in 1890 made the number of States forty-four. None of these States had considerable populations, and political and party influences had much to do with determining their admission.

836. The Tariff and the Surplus.—By this time the internal-revenue taxes (§ 691) had been gradually abolished, with the exception of the taxes on tobacco and intoxicating liquors. The “surplus” was growing larger, for the national revenue was increasing, while the need for money was decreasing. The tariff of 1883 had made but a slight reduction in the duties, and the growing “surplus” brought the question up again. It may seem a good thing for a government to have so large an amount of money to its credit as was then lying unused in the Treasury,¹ but it was really a bad thing, for many reasons. This surplus, though a very small part of the country's wealth, was a very large part of its *money*; and the country needs all its money to carry on its business. To lock up part of the country's money in idleness is to hinder just so much of the country's business, and give every one just so much less work and wealth. And, further, so much idle money in the Treasury is a constant temptation to Congress to spend it wastefully and extravagantly, and keep up the taxation. The two parties were therefore compelled to consider ways of reducing taxation. The Democrats wished to reduce the tariff duties: the protected manufacturers declared that this would ruin

¹ In December, 1887, the Secretary of the Treasury estimated the surplus for the year at \$113,000,000.

them, and the Republicans upheld the view of the manufacturers.

837. Cleveland's Message.—When Congress met in December, 1887, the Secretary of the Treasury reported to the President that, if the withdrawal of money from business into the Treasury should continue, the result would be a panic (§ 485). The President therefore confined his annual message to an appeal to Congress to reduce the duties on imported goods, as the only advisable method of decreasing the revenue and the surplus. This brought up again the old issue of free trade (or a revenue tariff) against protection (§ 425).

838. The Trusts.—The interest in the matter was increased by a new feature in business management about this time. Corporations are bodies of men united under control of law so that they can sue and be sued in the courts. Some of these corporations began to unite into "trusts," for which there was no law. It was asserted that they kept prices high, and were aided in so doing by the tariff, which kept out foreign goods.

839. The Mills Bill.—The Democrats, who had a small majority in the House of Representatives, brought in a bill to reduce the duties on imports: it was called the Mills bill, from the name of its author. A few of the Democratic Congressmen were protectionists, and it was only after nearly six months of argument that they consented to support the Mills bill, which was then passed by the House, but was lost in the Senate, where the Republicans had a majority.

840. The Presidential Election (1888).—In the midst of the discussion, nominations for the Presidential election of 1888 were made by both parties. President Cleveland was renominated by the Democrats, with Allan G. Thurman, of Ohio, for Vice-President. The Republicans,

supporting protection more warmly than ever, nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Levi P. Morton, of New York. The 36 electoral votes of New York again decided the election (§ 826), and elected Harrison and Morton. This completed the first century of the republic under the Constitution (§ 294).¹

(II) HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION: 1889-93

BENJAMIN HARRISON, Ind., President.

LEVI P. MORTON, N. Y., Vice-President.

841. The Struggle over the Rules.—When Congress met in December, 1889, it was proposed in the House of



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Representatives, where the Republican majority was small, to change the rules governing the House, so as to prevent dilatory motions and expedite business. Previously it had been possible for members to defer action on a measure by a policy of delay known as *filibustering*, which consisted essentially either in making irrelevant motions which took precedence of the pending business, or in simply refraining from answering to their names when the roll was called.

Unless a majority of the members answered to their

¹ The electoral votes were 233 for Harrison and Morton to 168 for Cleveland and Thurman. The Prohibition candidates, Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, and John A. Brooks, of Missouri, received no electoral votes.

names, the progress of business was temporarily suspended until a majority of the whole House answered to the roll-call. Both parties in the past had resorted to this plan of delaying action, and had claimed that such delay was a right to which the minority was entitled in order to prevent hasty and ill-considered legislation on the part of the majority. The proposed change in the rules allowed the Speaker to count as helping to make a quorum members who were present but who did not answer to the roll, and also authorized him to disregard dilatory motions. After an angry debate, the new rules were adopted.

842. The McKinley Tariff Act.—The Presidential election had turned upon the principle of protection. The Republicans had been completely victorious, and had elected the President and a majority in both branches of Congress. In his first message to Congress, President Harrison recommended the maintenance of the protective policy. Accordingly, in April, 1890, Mr. McKinley of Ohio introduced in the House a tariff bill which sought at the same time to maintain the protective system and to reduce the revenues of the Federal Government, which were then in excess of its expenditures. The bill laid high duties on foreign goods which came into competition with home products, and put on the free list many goods which were produced exclusively abroad. In the Senate the bill was so amended as to embrace the principle of reciprocity. This form of reciprocity consisted in authorizing the President to impose duties on certain goods imported free from other countries, in case those countries imposed duties "reciprocally unequal and unreasonable" upon certain of our exports to them. In this amended form the bill became law.

843. Silver Legislation.—There were many in Congress who were dissatisfied with the law of 1878 (§§ 811, 812),

which authorized a monthly purchase of silver by the government. They claimed that any owner of silver bullion ought to be allowed to take the metal to the mint and have it coined into dollars, each dollar to contain 371½ grains of pure silver and to be a legal tender in payment of debts. Such a law, they claimed, would make the silver dollar exchange in the bullion market for the gold dollar. As the outcome of this feeling the Bland-Allison law (§ 812) was repealed; and as a compromise, and in the line of further concession to the advocates of the more extended use of silver, a law was passed which required the government to buy each month, at the market price, 4,500,000 ounces of silver. The law further provided that for every gold dollar's worth of silver so purchased an equivalent amount in treasury notes of the United States should be issued and that these notes should be a legal tender in payment of debt. The effect of the law was to increase the money in circulation by about \$50,000,000 annually. It failed, however, to raise the price of silver, or even to maintain the price at its former level.¹

844. Increased Expenditures by Congress.—There was at this time a very noticeable increase in the appropriations of money made by Congress. Many people were alarmed at what seemed to them the sudden and undue extravagance on the part of their representatives at Washington. President Harrison in his first message to Congress had advocated a more liberal expenditure upon pensions to the former soldiers of the Union. In accordance with this suggestion the Dependent Pension Bill was passed by Congress. This increased very materially the number

¹ This law was popularly called the Sherman law, because Senator Sherman, although an opponent of the free coinage of silver, was the chairman of the committee which reported the bill in its final form to the Senate.

of those entitled to pensions, and made it much easier to secure pensions than it had been hitherto. The effect of this law has been rapidly to increase the expenditure upon pensions until now the annual pension bill is by far the largest single charge upon the national treasury. Besides this, heavy appropriations were made to increase the navy and to refund a tax which had been levied on the loyal States during the Civil War. The Fifty-first Congress spent more than its predecessor by \$170,000,-000, and the heavier rate of expenditure has been since maintained.

845. The World's Fair at Chicago.—In the early part of 1890 Chicago was designated by Congress as the site of the Columbian Exposition, which was to be held in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus (§ 6); moreover, a commission was appointed to supervise the enterprise. In December, 1890, the President issued a proclamation inviting all nations to take part in the exposition. The great fair was opened May 1, 1893, and closed October 30, 1893.

846.* Oklahoma—In 1890, the same year in which Idaho and Wyoming were admitted as States, a part of the Indian Territory was organized as the Territory of Oklahoma. A proclamation of the President later opened to settlement a large area formerly held by Indian tribes, and on Sept. 22, 1891, some sixty thousand immigrants swarmed in and took possession of the fertile farming land.

847. The Eleventh Census.—The final count as given by the Eleventh Census made the population of the United States on June 1, 1890 (exclusive of Alaska, the whites in the Indian Territory, and Indians on reservations), 62,622,250. The actual total was not far from 63,000,-000. Several facts of importance were made known by

the census. First, while the population was increasing, it was not increasing as rapidly as formerly. Between 1870 and 1880 the increase was thirty per cent; from 1880 to 1890 it was less than twenty-five per cent. Second, it is a noteworthy fact that the rate of increase among the colored population in the South was shown to be markedly less than among the white population in the same States. While the negroes increased in the last decade less than fourteen per cent, the whites in the same States increased twenty-five per cent. Third, the geographical centre of population was in southern Indiana, though it is moving slowly but surely toward the Mississippi River.

848. Foreign Affairs.—The administration of President Harrison was marked by a number of complications with foreign powers, some of which seemed at times to render war not impossible. A long-standing wrong to foreigners was redressed when Congress passed the International Copyright Act, which secured their property in their literary productions, provided certain conditions were first complied with. The continued agitation of the question of silver led to the calling of an International Monetary Conference at Brussels, in December, 1892, to secure some international co-operation in regard to the use of silver as a money metal; but the effort proved unavailing. With England we had a dispute as to our respective rights in the waters of Bering Sea, off the coast of Alaska, where our vessels and those of Canada were engaged in taking seals. In June, 1891, both nations agreed to declare a close season, to have English and American ships jointly patrol these waters, and to submit the disputed points to an international commission for arbitration.

849. New Orleans Riot.—On March 14, 1891, there was a riot in New Orleans in which eleven persons of Italian

birth were taken from jail and hanged. It was alleged that they belonged to a secret, oath-bound association which had perpetrated certain crimes, and which had attempted to shield certain of their number from the punishment which the law denounced against the crimes so committed. The Federal Government expressed to Italy its deep regret at the occurrence, but disclaimed all responsibility for the affair. It was proved that most of the unfortunates were naturalized American citizens. On behalf of the others Italy demanded reparation in money, and a pledge that those engaged in the mob's undertaking should be tried for their crime. This promise the Federal Government was unable to give, whereupon the Italian minister left Washington. The matter was finally settled by the payment to Italy of \$25,000 as an indemnity to the families of the dead Italian citizens, and as a token of our good will to the Italian people.

850. Chili.—October 16, 1891, a number of American sailors from the United States ship *Baltimore*, while wearing the uniform of the American navy, were assaulted by a mob in Valparaiso, Chili, and were badly maltreated, one being killed outright. The demands of our government for an apology and reparation were practically ignored until the President in January, 1892, made a peremptory demand upon Chili, to which that country promptly acceded, offering a money indemnity, which was accepted.

851. Chinese Exclusion.—The efforts which had been made to exclude the Chinese from the United States (§§ 815, 829) culminated in a law passed in the spring of 1892 which prohibited Chinese immigration for a further period of ten years, and required Chinese residents already in this country to provide themselves, under heavy penalties, with certificates of residence.

852. Hawaii.—The Hawaiian Islands were formerly a constitutional monarchy with a queen at their head. The queen, Liliuokalani, had threatened to abolish the constitution and to take more power into her own hands. This threat was followed in January, 1893, by a revolution which set up a provisional government and declared the monarchy at an end. The minister of the United States landed a number of marines from an American war-ship in the harbor of Honolulu. His avowed object was the protection of the property of American residents. The queen declared that the forces of the United States were employed really to aid the revolutionists. She protested against the acts of the provisional government, and declared that she yielded only to the superior force of the United States. On February 1, 1893, Minister Stevens raised the flag of the United States over the islands, and established a protectorate by which the islands were temporarily in the status of a colony. A treaty of annexation was submitted to the Senate, but was speedily withdrawn by President Harrison's successor, and the protectorate came to an end in April, 1893.

853. Labor Difficulties.—The strife between employer and employee broke out with violence in the summer of 1892. The Carnegie Company at Homestead, Pa., in order to protect their property against violence on the part of striking workmen, employed a number of Pinkerton detectives and moved them up the Monongahela River in barges, intending to land them at the works. A battle ensued between the detectives on the barges and the workmen on the river-banks, in which 7 detectives and 11 of their opponents were killed. The militia were ordered to the scene, and for a while the district was placed under martial law. This conflict, with other riots, especially in western New York, drew general attention

to the gravity of the question. While lawlessness and disorder must be repressed by armed force if necessary, it was becoming increasingly clear that some different and more peaceful method of settling these disputes must eventually be found.

854. Presidential Election of 1892.—The election of 1892 again centred about the question of protection. The political problems which were the legacy of the Civil War had almost entirely given place to problems of an economic nature. In the earlier part of this administration, the Republicans attempted to pass an election law providing for federal supervisors at the polls. It was aimed especially at some of the Southern States, where, it was alleged, voters were intimidated. Certain Republican Senators from the Western States, deeming the co-operation of Southern Senators in the struggle for silver of more importance than this election law (the so-called Force Bill), were apathetic in their support of the measure, and the bill failed to become law. Business interests had become more important than former political issues. In the Presidential campaign of 1892 the Republicans forcibly reaffirmed the doctrine of protection, and renominated President Harrison for President, and White-law Reid, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democrats as emphatically denounced the protective policy, and again nominated Grover Cleveland for President, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice-President. The People's party, the successor of the Greenback or National party (§ 817), declared in favor of the free coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, state control of railroads, and state loans to the farming class. The nominees of the People's party were General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-President. The Prohibition party

(§ 840) again put candidates in the field—John Bidwell, of California, for President, and James B. Cranfill, of Texas, for Vice-President. The election resulted in a sweeping victory for the Democrats. The Democrats at the same time gained control of both branches of Congress.¹

(III) CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION: 1893-7

GROVER CLEVELAND, N. Y., Pres'dent. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Ill., Vice-President.

855. The Industrial Depression.—The Democrats had won a decided victory in the Presidential election of 1892; and as they had a majority in Congress, they were prepared speedily to revise the tariff and lower the duties on imports. A severe business crisis beginning in May, 1893, compelled them, however, first of all to attend to financial measures. The panic among business men came very suddenly. During the summer of 1893 banks and many business houses failed daily, money was hoarded and became abnormally scarce, factories were shut down, and thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment. Even the brilliant success of the World's Fair at Chicago (§ 845) was not sufficient to remove the gloomy apprehensions prevalent among the people generally. The President called Congress to meet in special session on August 7, and urged upon that body the necessity of speedily passing laws to remove the fear and distrust felt in business circles. He pointed out in particular the necessity for the immediate repeal of portions of the Sherman law (§ 843).

¹ Cleveland and Stevenson obtained 277 of the 444 electoral votes. Of the popular vote no ticket received a clear majority, over a million votes being cast for the candidates of the People's party, which controlled 22 votes in the electoral college, the remaining 145 going to the Republican candidates.

856. The Repeal of the Sherman Law.—There were conflicting opinions as to the cause of the troubles in business, but there was a tolerably general agreement upon the necessity for the repeal of the law requiring the purchase of silver (§ 843). The government gave its notes for the silver which it got under this law. These notes circulated as money, and their holders could exchange them for coin at the United States Treasury. The Treasury officials felt obliged to give *gold* coin in exchange for these notes when asked to do so. Thus the monthly purchases of silver resulted in putting out a number of notes, many of which were ultimately presented for payment in gold coin. In this and in other ways the stock of gold coin at the disposal of the Treasury was being depleted, and there were fears that if the process continued the government could not continue to redeem its notes in gold. Moreover, the silver which had been obtained was not available for redeeming these notes, so long as the note-holders preferred gold, and so long as the Treasury continued to redeem the notes in gold. It also happened that the value of the silver in the government's vaults suddenly fell, upon the announcement, on June 26, that thereafter the owners of silver in British India could not have that metal coined into money. Under the pressure of public opinion, the House of Representatives speedily repealed the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman law on August 28. The debate in the Senate was long and wearisome, but on November 1 the Senate voted for repeal. The intensity of the business crisis had by this time considerably abated, but industry showed few signs of reviving, and an era of hard times set in.

857. Bond Issues.—The government's promises, or notes, are used very generally as a substitute for coin in buying and selling. A dollar bill is thus in reality noth-

ing but the government's pledge to give to the holder of the bill a dollar coin. Only such coins are "dollars" in fact. In order to make these promises good, the government has to keep on hand a stock of coin. The stock of gold coin (§ 856) was getting very low when the Secretary of the Treasury decided, in January, 1894, to replenish it by selling the bonds of the government for gold. When governments need more money than they can get immediately by taxing the people, they frequently borrow money and give the lender a bond. Such a bond, when issued by our government, is the government's promise to pay a certain amount of money every year to the lender or bond-owner as interest upon the loan, until finally the principal of the loan also is repaid. The amounts thus promised the bondholders are obtained from the taxes to be raised in the future. Thus the issue of bonds makes taxes heavier in the future, and is a wise policy only when the immediate need for more revenue is very urgent. While the sale of bonds was due in the first place to the necessity of getting an ample stock of coin to redeem the government's notes, the money obtained from the sale of bonds was used in part to pay some of the ordinary expenses of running the government, inasmuch as the revenue from taxes had fallen off. There were subsequent sales of bonds on three occasions (November, 1894, February, 1895, January, 1896), and thus the nation's debt was increased by over \$262,000,000. The gold obtained in exchange for the bonds enabled the Treasury to continue to redeem its notes in gold, but the increase thus caused in the national debt made the bond sales very unpopular in many sections, while most of those who believed in the policy of redeeming government notes in gold regarded the bond sales as necessary under the circumstances.

858. The Great Railroad Strike.—The strife between employer and employee (§§ 829, 853) in the early part of 1894 gave rise to several memorable contests, which in the summer culminated in the railroad strike centring in Chicago. In May the workmen in the shops at Pullman, near Chicago, demanded higher wages, which were refused, whereupon they stopped work. In order to aid the Pullman workmen, the American Railway Union, an organization of railroad employees, threatened to withdraw their members from the service of the companies running Pullman cars unless the employers at Pullman consented to arbitrate with their workmen. This threat was not heeded; and the American Railway Union, aided by other labor organizations, began a contest with the railroad companies to whose trains Pullman cars were attached. The contest thus resolved itself into a struggle between the General Managers' Association at Chicago on the one side, who controlled the railroad interests, and the various labor organizations engaging in the strike on the other side. By the end of June the railway traffic which centred in Chicago, and especially traffic on the lines west of Chicago, was paralyzed. Trains were forcibly stopped, Pullman coaches were detached by mobs, and much railroad property was destroyed. This forcible interference with trains delayed the mails, which are under control of the Federal Government. As the United States marshals could not afford the needed protection to the mail trains, a part of the regular army was despatched to the scene of disorder. Only after the appearance of these forces was rioting checked and peace restored.

859. The Wilson Bill.—In accordance with the programme outlined by the Democrats in the Presidential election (§ 854), there was introduced into Congress in

the closing days of 1893 a tariff measure, called from its author the Wilson bill, which reduced the rates of duty upon many imports and largely abolished duties on raw material brought in from abroad. There was afterward added to the measure a proposal to tax incomes, and in this form the bill was adopted by the House of Representatives, and was sent to the Senate. The Senate proceeded to modify many sections of the House measure, and made smaller reductions in existing duties than had been contemplated in the original bill. In this modified form the bill passed the Senate on July 3, 1894. The House refused to accede to the changes proposed by the Senate, and for a time it looked as though no new tariff measure might be passed. In the struggle between the two bodies the President expressed his sympathy with the House as against the Senate. Finally, on August 13, the House reluctantly acceded to the bill in the form in which it had passed the Senate, and ten days thereafter it became law without the signature of the President, who chose thus, by withholding his signature, to express his disapproval of the action of certain Democratic Senators. The bill as passed removed all duty from the imports of raw wool, but still imposed duties on many other raw materials. The House, after accepting the changes made in the measure by the Senate, immediately passed acts which put many of these raw materials on the list free of duty, but these bills failed to pass the Senate.

860. The Income-tax Decision.—The struggle over the tariff measure had already stirred up much ill feeling among the Democrats. The various financial measures continually debated in Congress, as well as the policy of the Treasury (§ 857), tended also rapidly to create two distinct factions within the party, when in the spring of 1895 the Supreme Court rendered a decision which

abolished the income tax (§ 859), the favorite device of one wing of the party, and the last financial reliance of the other wing. The income tax had been grafted upon the original Wilson bill (§ 859) at the demand of many of the Southern and Western Democrats in Congress, who thought that such a tax would apportion the burden of Federal taxation more justly than heretofore. In a lawsuit which had been appealed to the Supreme Court (§ 283), that tribunal decided that the income tax provision of the Wilson bill was not constitutional. The Constitution gives certain powers to Congress, and in some cases prescribes how such powers are to be exercised. In case the Supreme Court decides that a law passed by Congress violates a provision of the Constitution, the law ceases to exist. This was the case with the income tax. The Treasury was thus cut off from obtaining very considerable amounts of money which it had counted upon receiving, and was forced to sell bonds (§ 857).

861. The Venezuela Dispute.—The country was startled on Dec. 17, 1895, by a special message sent by the President to Congress upon Great Britain's refusal to arbitrate certain disputed points with Venezuela. The territory of British Guiana in South America is contiguous to Venezuela, and the boundary line between the two countries had long been in dispute. British subjects occupied certain lands claimed by Venezuela, and Great Britain refused to submit to arbitration the question of the rightful ownership of the territory in question. The United States insisted that Great Britain should submit these territorial claims to arbitration, and based its demand upon the Monroe Doctrine (§§ 420, 695, 770). As this demand by the United States had been refused, the President suggested the creation of a commission to determine

the true divisional line, and asserted the necessity of resisting by every means in our power the future occupation or control by Great Britain of any territory which the commission might determine belonged of right to Venezuela. The implied possibility of war with England caused deep excitement, and great commotion in commercial circles. Congress authorized the President to name the commission, which when duly appointed began its investigation. Meanwhile diplomatic negotiations between the governments of the United States and Great Britain continued, and resulted finally, in November, 1896, in the draft of a treaty between Venezuela and Great Britain for the settlement of the question. An impartial tribunal was to be named, and was to decide upon the true boundary, but it was agreed that fifty years' continuous holding of disputed territory by settlers should constitute a valid title to territory so occupied. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the Venezuelan Commission of the United States determined not to render a decision upon the location of the true boundary line, and ceased their investigation. The tribunal rendered its decision in 1899, and sustained the main contentions of Great Britain.

862. Utah was admitted into the Union in 1896. It had been organized as a Territory in 1850 (§ 555), and became the final seat of the Mormons (§ 822). In 1893 a bill to admit Utah as a State passed the House of Representatives. The committee reporting the bill declared that polygamy was virtually suppressed and that there need be no fear of its revival. The bill passed the Senate July 10, 1894, and the State became a member of the Union in January, 1896.

863. Cuba.—In February, 1894, there began in the Island of Cuba a rebellion against Spain, which owned the island and governed it harshly. Much sympathy was felt

in the United States for the insurgents, and filibustering expeditions were fitted out in the United States or off its coasts to aid the rebellion. These efforts were unlawful, and were suppressed where possible by the Federal officials. War between the United States and Spain seemed not unlikely. Both Houses of Congress, early in 1896, declared in favor of recognizing the struggle to be a revolutionary war rather than a mere insurrection. On July 30 the President issued a proclamation of neutrality, warning all persons against unlawfully making war on the Spanish forces in Cuba. In December, 1896, it looked for a time as though Congress might pass resolutions purporting to recognize the independence of Cuba. At this juncture the Secretary of State, Richard Olney, declared publicly that the power to recognize an independent state rested exclusively with the President, and announced, with thinly veiled contempt, that the resolution pending in the Senate, if passed, would be only "an expression of opinion by the eminent gentlemen who might vote for it." The resolution never came to a vote, and the danger of war with Spain for a time diminished.

864. Extension of the Merit System.—There are two theories held about appointment to ordinary positions under the government. One theory is that public offices are rewards for political work, and should be given to useful party men. This is the "spoils system." The other theory is that public offices are positions which should be filled by the most capable men, irrespective of their political leanings, and that where there are numerous applicants for office, fitness should be determined by business tests. This is the "merit system," which was largely extended by President Cleveland by an order of May 6, 1896, whereby 30,000 additional positions were put under the merit system.

865. The Presidential Campaign.—The Presidential election of 1896 was one of the most memorable political contests in our history. The hard times had given rise to great discontent, and many people advocated the free coinage of silver as the remedy for the business depression. The "silver question" thus became the issue of the hour, and the tariff was little discussed. Advocates of the free coinage of silver were at first to be found in both of the great parties. In the Republican nominating convention at St. Louis a small party of silver men "bolted," that is, left the organization, inasmuch as the convention declared against the free coinage of silver unless by arrangement with other nations. William McKinley, of Ohio (§ 842), was nominated for President, and Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, for Vice-President. The advocates of the free coinage of silver were relatively more numerous in the Democratic party than in the Republican ranks. The Democratic convention at Chicago therefore declared for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without "waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation," and nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice-President. The People's party (§ 854), or Populists, approved of free silver coinage, and nominated Mr. Bryan for President, and Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for Vice-President. Many Democrats, especially in the East and central West, who were opposed to the Chicago platform, held an independent convention at Indianapolis in September. Here they declared against the free coinage of silver, indorsed the administration of President Cleveland (whose financial policy had been repudiated by the Chicago convention), and named General John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and General Simon B. Buckner, of

Kentucky, for President and Vice-President, respectively. The Prohibitionists and the Socialist Labor party also put tickets in the field.

866. The Election of 1896.—The struggle centred around the silver issue, and after certain combination tickets had been arranged between the Populists and the Democrats, it became plain that either McKinley or Bryan must be elected. At the end of an exciting campaign, one of whose features was the breaking up of the exclusive Democratic sway in the Southern States (§ 802), McKinley and Hobart were elected. The Republican candidates obtained a large popular majority, and 271 out of the 447 electoral votes.

867. The Arbitration Treaty.—Toward the close of his term of office President Cleveland sent to the Senate, with his approval, a general treaty of arbitration with Great Britain. In 1890 Congress by unanimous vote had requested the President to open negotiations for this purpose with all nations. The purpose of this proposed treaty with Great Britain was to provide courts or tribunals to settle differences which might arise between the two nations, in case a settlement of such differences could not be reached by ordinary diplomatic processes. The existence of such an arrangement, it was felt, would be an additional guarantee of peace between the two great English-speaking nations, and would tend to substitute for the barbarous expedient of war and carnage a peaceful, reasonable, and Christian method of deciding international quarrels. The treaty was rejected by the Senate shortly after at the expiration of President Cleveland's term of office.

868. The Leading Events of the administrations of Cleveland and Harrison were as follows:

1885-9: Cleveland's First Term of Office.	
1885: "Labor troubles" began.....	\$ 829
Contract Labor Act.....	829
1886: Presidential Succession Act.....	831
1887: Canadian fisheries dispute.....	834
Interstate Commerce Act.....	832
Presidential Election Act.....	831
Tenure of Office Act repealed.....	831
Anarchist riot at Chicago.....	829
1888: Four new States admitted.....	835
Chinese Immigration Act.....	829
1889: Panama Canal Company fails.....	834
Samoan dispute.....	834
Election of Harrison.....	840
End of the first century under the Constitution.....	840
1889-93: Harrison's Term of Office.	
1889: Struggle over the rules.....	841
1890: Chicago designated as the site of the World's Fair.....	845
Dependent Pension Bill passed.....	844
Idaho admitted.....	846
Wyoming admitted.....	846
The Silver Law passed.....	843
The McKinley Tariff.....	842
1891: Close season declared in Bering Sea..	848
Riot in New Orleans.....	849
Riot in Valparaiso, Chili.....	850
1892: Chinese Exclusion Act passed.....	851
Homestead riots.....	853
Presidential election.....	854
1893: Revolution in Hawaii.....	852
1893-7: Cleveland's Second Term of Office.	
1893: Industrial depression.....	855
World's Fair at Chicago.....	855
Repeal of the Sherman Law.....	856
1894: First bond issue.....	857
Railroad strike.....	858
Wilson Bill passed.....	859
1895: Income Tax decision.....	860
Venezuelan Message.....	861
1896: Utah admitted.....	862

1896: Cuban question.....	§ 863
The merit system extended in the civil service.....	864
Presidential election.....	865
1897: Arbitration treaty negotiated.....	867

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. Early plans for an isthmian canal.
2. The secret ballot laws of a particular State (*e.g.*, Massachusetts).
3. The powers and duties of the Speaker.
4. The Venezuelan question and the Monroe doctrine.
5. Early suggestions of American intervention in Cuba.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

The main authorities continue as in Chapter XX. On the movement for civil-service reform see, besides the annual reports of the Civil Service Commissioners, the annual reports of the National Civil Service League, George William Curtis's *Orations and Addresses*, vol. II., and Cary's *Curtis*. The importance of periodicals, as fields for political discussion, becomes noticeable in this period.

CHAPTER XXIII

EXPANSION

1897-1900

WM. MCKINLEY, O., President.

GARRET A. HOBART, N. J., Vice-President *

869. President McKinley. — The President owed his election, not to Republicans alone, but also to Democrats and Independents who, while unable to indorse Republican policy in general, were alarmed lest financial disaster should follow the election of Mr. Bryan, and felt that a sound and stable currency was the paramount issue of the campaign. Mr. McKinley had had administrative experience as governor of Ohio, and was well known throughout the country as the foremost champion of protection, and the official sponsor for the tariff act of 1890. His inaugural address, while containing a



WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

promise to do what he could for international bimetallism, announced his purpose to use every effort to keep gold

* Vice-President Hobart died November 21, 1899.





and silver at a parity. He insisted that adequate provision, on the protective principle, should be made for the revenue, in order to put an end to the deficit, which had increased during the last months of Mr. Cleveland's administration. An extra session of Congress was called to deal with the tariff. In the construction of the cabinet, John Sherman, of Ohio, was made Secretary of State, Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury, John D. Long, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy, and Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, Secretary of War.

870. The Dingley Tariff.—Congress met in extra session March 15, 1897. As the opposition of the silver Republicans in the Senate bade fair to make tariff legislation in that body difficult, the Ways and Means Committee of the House, of which Nelson Dingley, of Maine, was chairman, had already taken the matter in hand, and prepared a revision of the tariff designed to secure increased revenue. The bill was introduced on the day Congress met, and consideration of it was facilitated by an agreement of the Republican leaders, under which Speaker Reed, who had been re-elected, appointed only such committees as would enable the House to organize, and consider the tariff and appropriation bills. The estimated increase of revenue, as stated by Mr. Dingley, was from seventy to one hundred million dollars. The rates were, in general, a compromise between those of 1890 and those of 1894; but the increase of rates in some schedules, the transfer of a number of articles from the free to the dutiable list, and the substitution of specific for *ad valorem* duties, operated to make the actual increase, in many cases, very considerable. The bill was passed March 31, by a large majority, and the House then kept in nominal session, without transacting other business, by adjournment for successive periods of three days, while

the bill was under consideration in the Senate. The organization of the Senate was delayed by the opposition of the Populists and silver Republicans, who held the balance of power; and it was July 24 before the bill, with some modifications, passed the Senate and received the approval of the President.

871. The Revenue.—The knowledge that the Dingley tariff would raise the duties led for several months to a great increase of importation, the effect of which was to decrease the monthly deficit. This movement ceased with the passage of the act, and expenditures again showed a large excess over receipts. The gold reserve, however, remained at about \$150,000,000; while improved business conditions, a large demand for breadstuffs on account of crop failures abroad, and a sharp decline in the market price of silver, tended to raise confidence in the financial stability of the country, and to weaken the influence of the free-silver advocates.

872. The Monetary Commission.—In fulfilment of the promise in his inaugural address, and under the authority of an act of Congress passed just before the close of Mr. Cleveland's administration, President McKinley in April appointed three commissioners to further the cause of international bimetallism. The commissioners visited Europe, and had interviews with various financial and governmental authorities; but the refusal of the government of India to open its mints to the free coinage of silver practically extinguished hope of favorable international action in the direction of bimetallism.

873. Relations with Cuba.—The relations between the United States and Cuba (§ 863), instead of improving, had continued to grow more acute. During the last months of the Cleveland administration, there were frequent calls upon the government for the protection of

American citizens in Cuba, many of the persons, however, being naturalized Cubans who had aided the insurgents. Numerous filibustering expeditions were also set on foot; but the United States did its best to preserve neutrality, and one of the most notorious filibustering vessels, the *Three Friends*, was seized and forfeited. In May, 1897, President McKinley sent a special commissioner to Cuba, and his report was followed by claims upon Spain for indemnity on account of the alleged ill-treatment of certain American citizens. In the mean time, the Senate had passed a resolution declaring that a state of war existed between Spain and the Cubans, and giving the latter belligerent rights; but President McKinley was strongly averse to such a step, and the resolution was not acted upon by the House. An appropriation of \$50,000 was made, however, for the relief of distressed Americans in the island. The appointment of Gen. Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, as minister to Spain was followed by rumors that an ultimatum was to be presented to the Spanish government. The activity of the Spanish forces in Cuba, under the command of General Weyler, meanwhile increased, but without substantial results in the way of the subjugation of the country.

874. Spanish Policy.—The accession of the Sagasta ministry to power, in October, 1897, was followed by the recall of Weyler, who was replaced by Ramon Blanco as governor-general. Under the more liberal policy of Sagasta, conditions in Cuba promised for a time material improvement. The *reconcentrados*—people from the country districts who had been compelled to give up their homes and live in the towns, where their crowded condition and lack of subsistence had bred great suffering—were given greater opportunities to work, and even allowed to return, in some cases, to their plantations.

Imprisoned American citizens were released, and the exportation of tobacco, which had been prohibited, was again allowed to a limited extent. A plan for autonomous government in Cuba and Porto Rico, promulgated by royal decree in November, promised the Cubans a legislative assembly, and local assemblies for the provinces and municipalities; but the control to be retained by Spain was still so great that the autonomy was more nominal than real. A cabinet, all but one of whose members were Cubans, was appointed in January, 1898; but the whole plan was summarily rejected by the insurgents, who declared their purpose to accept nothing short of independence. The efforts of Blanco to negotiate with the insurgent generals, Gomez and Garcia, were unsuccessful, and the guerrilla warfare continued.

875. The Policy of the Administration.—In his annual message in December, 1897, President McKinley reviewed the Cuban situation at length, and announced that, while the United States expected Spain to restore order in Cuba without unnecessary delay, "a reasonable chance" should be given "to prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things"; but that "if it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and humanity, to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part, and only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world." The reports of American consuls regarding the pitiable condition of the *reconcentrados* led to renewed efforts for their relief. A public appeal was issued for funds, and a national Cuban Relief Committee was appointed. By these means a large sum of money was raised, and considerable quantities of supplies were sent to Cuba.

876. The De Lome Affair.—The final decision to put an end by force to a situation which was rapidly becoming intolerable was materially hastened by two unfortunate events. February 8, 1898, the "Cuban Junta," as it was called, at New York, representing the Cuban insurgents, published a private letter which had been stolen from the mails, written by Señor Dupuy de Lome, the Spanish minister at Washington, to the editor of a Spanish newspaper. The letter referred in terms of extreme disparagement to the President, and charged him with "catering to the rabble." The minister admitted the authenticity of the letter, and at once resigned. The Spanish government disclaimed responsibility for the letter, or sympathy with its objectionable sentiments; but the affair left a painful impression.

877. The Loss of the *Maine*.—Ostensibly on a friendly visit, but in reality to afford protection to American interests in Havana, the battleship *Maine* had been sent to Havana in the latter part of January, 1898. On the 15th of February, the day after the receipt of a note from the Spanish government repudiating the De Lome letter, the *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion, and 266 of the crew killed or drowned. Captain Sigsbee, in telegraphing a brief report of the disaster, urged that judgment be suspended until the cause of the explosion could be determined, and the responsibility fixed. A proposal from Spain for a joint inquiry was declined by the United States, and each country conducted an independent investigation. The American board of inquiry reported that the explosion was due to a submarine mine, but that there was no evidence to show who was responsible. The Spanish board reported that the explosion had taken place inside the vessel, and had not been caused from outside.

878. The Impending Crisis.—March 27, 1898, President McKinley proposed that Spain grant an armistice in Cuba until October 1, and revoke the decrees against the *reconcentrados*; and offered to use his influence to bring about peace. In reply, Spain offered to suspend hostilities if the insurgents would ask for it, and to entrust the arrangement of peace to the Cuban Parliament, which was to meet May 4. The reply was pronounced unsatisfactory. The Americans still in Cuba, including the consuls, began to leave. A protest from the autonomous government against intervention by the United States, and a declaration by the Cuban Junta that intervention without recognition of the Cuban Republic would be resisted by the insurgents, were followed by a joint note from the representatives of the leading European Powers, expressing their hope for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. On the 10th of April an unconditional armistice was proclaimed by Spain, but the proclamation came too late. The next day President McKinley sent a special message to Congress, urging the impropriety of recognizing "the so-called Cuban Republic" or the belligerent status of the insurgents, declaring that "the war must stop," and asking authority to intervene by force and end hostilities.

879. Declaration of War.—In March, Congress, at the request of the President, had appropriated \$50,000,000 for the national defence. On the receipt of the message of April 11, Congress passed resolutions declaring that the people of Cuba "are and of right ought to be free and independent," but disclaiming any intention on the part of the United States of "exercising sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control" over the island "except for the pacification thereof"; demanding that Spain "at once relinquish its authority and government" in Cuba; and "directing and empowering" the President to use force to give effect

to the resolutions. As Spain refused to accept the ultimatum forthwith submitted by the United States, diplomatic relations between the two countries ceased; and on April 25 Congress passed a formal declaration of war.

880. Preparations for War.—For some weeks before hostilities actually broke out, both Spain and the United States had been making active preparations for war. Ships of war were bought abroad, and many vessels suitable for naval purposes were purchased at home and refitted. Coast fortifications were strengthened, and the principal harbors mined. On April 23—two days after the date on which, by the declaration of Congress, the war had begun—the President called for 125,000 volunteers; and these, with the troops of the regular army, were assembled at Chickamauga, Tampa, and other convenient points.

881. Manila.—The first battle of the war took place in the bay of Manila. Commodore Dewey, in command of the American squadron in Asiatic waters, attacked the Spanish fleet at Manila on the morning of May 1, and totally destroyed it. The defences at Cavité were also forced to surrender, and the city of Manila, though not at once occupied, was under American control. The two fleets were unequally matched, and the Spanish admiral was taken by surprise; but the unexpected and decisive victory aroused great enthusiasm in the United States. The Philippine insurgents, under the lead of Aguinaldo, were given arms from the arsenal at Cavité, and in the course of the next two months compelled the Spanish troops to concentrate in Manila. American troops from San Francisco, under the command of Major-General Merritt, arrived the last of June; and on the 13th of August the city was taken by a joint attack of the land and naval forces.

882. The Santiago Campaign.—Three days before the formal declaration of war, President McKinley had proclaimed a blockade of the north coast of Cuba; and a squadron from Key West, under Rear-Admiral Sampson, was at once dispatched to make the blockade effective. A Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera, collected at the Cape Verde Islands on the outbreak of hostilities, arrived at Santiago de Cuba, on the south coast, May 19, and was there blockaded by an American squadron under Commodore Schley. June 22 an American force of 14,000 regulars and 2500 volunteers, under command of Major-General Shafter, landed at Daiquiri, seventeen miles from Santiago. In the face of great natural disadvantages and stubborn resistance, they took the Spanish outposts at La Quasima on the 24th, and on July 1 stormed the defences on the heights of San Juan and Caney. Two days later the Spanish fleet attempted to escape from the harbor, only to be destroyed by Sampson's squadron. The Spanish lost four cruisers and two torpedo-boat destroyers, about 600 men killed or drowned, and upwards of 1700 prisoners. Santiago still holding out, it was bombarded; on the 17th it surrendered, together with most of the province of the same name. The Spanish troops were sent back to Spain. In the mean time, the American army had become so weakened by privation and disease as to make necessary its removal from the country; and the entire body of troops was accordingly transported to a camp at Montauk, on Long Island. Their place was taken by troops, most of them colored, selected because thought to be "immune," that is, not likely to be attacked by yellow fever or other tropical diseases.

883. The Occupation of Porto Rico.—In May, Sampson's fleet had bombarded the defences of San Juan, Porto Rico, but without particular results. The invasion of Porto Rico

followed upon the surrender of Santiago. The American expedition, made up chiefly of volunteers, was under the command of Major-General Miles, the commanding general of the United States army. Landing on the southern coast the last of July, the Americans gained control, by the middle of August, of the larger part of the island, nowhere encountering serious opposition, and even being welcomed by the inhabitants. Although the campaign was attended with none of the hardships of that against Santiago, the troops nevertheless suffered severely from fever and other diseases.

884. Friction with the Cubans.—At the beginning of the war, the Cuban insurgents had received supplies from the American troops, and in June a body of them, under General Garcia, had coöperated with an American force in taking Guantanamo, about thirty miles east of Santiago. As the campaign went on, however, joint action became more and more difficult; and when, in the negotiations for the surrender of Santiago, General Garcia was not consulted, and afterward the Cuban soldiers were not allowed to enter the city, he and his followers withdrew, and for a time operated independently.

885. Peace.—It was evident from the first that Spain could not hope for final success in a war with the United States; and the loss of the Spanish colonies, together with the overwhelming superiority of the American navy, left Spain no other alternative than to sue for peace. Preliminaries of peace were signed at Washington, August 12, the French ambassador acting on behalf of Spain. Special commissioners were appointed to arrange for the evacuation of Cuba and Porto Rico. The peace commissioners of the two countries met at Paris, October 1, and on December 10 the treaty of peace was signed. By the treaty, Spain renounced sovereignty over Cuba, and ceded

to the United States Porto Rico and other Spanish West Indian islands, the island of Guam, in the Ladrões, already occupied by an American force, and the Philippines. The United States agreed to pay Spain \$20,000,000, and to admit Spanish ships and goods to Philippine ports for ten years on the same terms as were accorded to American ships and merchandise. There was strong opposition to the treaty in the Senate, principally on account of the proposed retention of the Philippines by the United States; but it was finally ratified, February 6, 1899, and the exchange of ratifications in April completed the formal restoration of peace.

886. Finances of the War.—A war revenue act, brought forward by Mr. Dingley in April, 1898, increased the internal-revenue taxes on beer and tobacco, imposed stamp taxes on most legal and business documents, bank checks, proprietary articles, etc., and authorized the issue of bonds to the amount of \$400,000,000. The war loan was popular, and was largely oversubscribed; while the growing volume of trade enabled the country to bear without difficulty the unlooked-for expenses of the war.

887. Foreign Relations.—A report gained currency early in the war, to the effect that the formation of some sort of a European coalition to aid Spain had been prevented by the refusal of Great Britain to take part in it. This, together with other friendly acts on the part of Great Britain during the progress of the war, caused the popular feeling toward that country to become, for a time, extraordinarily cordial. There was much talk about an Anglo-American alliance, and an Anglo-American League was formed in London. In May, 1898, a joint commission was created to arrange a settlement of pending differences between the two countries. On the other hand, reports that Germany had planned to interfere in

government, making the Hawaiians citizens of the United States, and giving the Territory a delegate in Congress, passed both Houses and received the approval of the President.

889. Currency Reform.—The failure of the monetary commissioners (§ 872) to secure the opening of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver did not, apparently, discourage that body, and the commissioners in Europe continued to be for some time active on behalf of bimetallism. In the mean time, hopeful steps in the direction of currency reform were being taken at home. A conference of prominent financiers and business men met at Indianapolis in January, 1897, and the discussions attracted general attention. In October, Secretary Gage submitted a plan of reform, including, among other features, the issue of refunding gold bonds, and changes in the national banking law so as to increase the issue and circulation of bank-notes. The outbreak of war with Spain, however, joined to the active opposition of the silver men in Congress, for a time prevented further action. In the framing of the war revenue act, the silver contention was compromised by providing for the coinage of the silver in the treasury, at the rate of \$1,500,000 a month, and the suspension of further issues of silver certificates. The demand for reform culminated in the passage of a bill, in March, 1900, declaring the gold dollar the unit of value, all other money to be kept at a parity with it; and establishing a gold reserve of \$150,000,000, pledged for the redemption of greenbacks and treasury notes, and to be maintained, if necessary, by the issue of bonds. Provision was also made for refunding the national debt, the gradual replacement of treasury notes by silver certificates, and the extension of the privileges of national banks in regard to issuing notes.

890. The Pacific Railroads.—During President McKinley's administration the United States largely ended its connection with the various Pacific railroads, which had been originally constructed with financial aid from the national government. In November, 1897, a sale of the Union Pacific Railway, under proceedings begun by the government towards the close of Mr. Cleveland's administration, was effected, the United States receiving an amount equal to the principal and interest of its claim. In February, 1898, the sale of the Kansas Pacific Railway was also effected, under terms somewhat less favorable to the government. Similar arrangements were later made with the Central Pacific and Western Pacific roads.

891. Anti-Trust Agitation.—The period of President McKinley's administration was distinguished by a widespread popular discussion of trusts, and by many attempts to regulate or suppress trusts by law. Many of the State legislatures devoted a large share of their attention to the question, and in some of the States severe laws were enacted. A decision of the Supreme Court, in March, 1897, that the Anti-Trust Act of 1890 applied to railroads as well as to manufacturing and trading corporations, and that the act made illegal any combination in restraint of trade or commerce, whether the restraint were reasonable or not, made a deep impression. During 1899, however, trusts and industrial combinations were formed on an extraordinary scale, many of them under the laws of Delaware and New Jersey, which are particularly favorable to such incorporation. The result was a revival of popular opposition to great aggregations of capital, and a renewed demand for State and national action. Conferences on the subject were held at Chicago and St. Louis, and it was thought by some that the question of trusts would be a leading issue in the coming presidential cam-

paign. Just before the adjournment of Congress, in June, 1900, a proposed anti-trust amendment to the Constitution was debated in the Senate, but failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote; while a bill to amend the act of 1890, so as to give the United States increased powers of control over trusts, was passed by the House of Representatives, but disposed of in the Senate by reference to a committee.

892. The Civil Service.—In his inaugural address, President McKinley announced his adherence to the letter and spirit of civil-service reform; and this, together with his previous record in Congress, inspired much confidence among those who had most at heart the complete overthrow of the spoils system in national administration. It was further given out that fourth-class, or “presidential,” postmasters, not shown to be unfit, would be allowed to serve out their four-year terms. In July, 1897, an executive order directed that removals from places filled by competitive examination should be made only for cause, and that the removed official should be given a hearing in his own defence. Violations of the rule, however, soon began to multiply. Attempts to enforce observance by judicial process failed, the courts holding that the enforcement of the rules was a matter within the jurisdiction of the President. The policy of the President in following the advice of senators from the State concerned, in making appointments to office, resulted in the selection of many unfit and highly objectionable persons for important positions; but protests were generally disregarded. In the departments at Washington, particularly the Treasury Department, the observance of the civil-service rules was lax; while an executive order of July 29, 1899, withdrawing several thousand places from the classified service, was regarded by reformers as a serious

"backward step." In Congress there was some display of hostility to reform, and the competitive principle was disregarded in the act making provision for the twelfth census. A considerable number of commendable appointments did something to excuse, in the public mind, the conduct of the Administration in reference to other positions; but the net effect of President McKinley's course in the matter of the civil service was discouraging.

893. The Klondike Gold-fields.—In the summer of 1897, the report of the discovery of gold in the Klondike region, on the border between Alaska and the British possessions, reached the United States. The news was followed by a rush of emigration to the region, which continued through the following year. The suffering and loss of life, caused by the severity of the climate and the hardships of the overland route, served but little to discourage the gold-seekers. The deposit proved to be exceedingly rich, and the experiences of miners in California, in 1848-9, were repeated; while the discovery of the new supplies of gold was of political importance, as tending to offset some of the arguments of free-silver advocates. The attempt of the Canadian government, within whose territory the principal deposits lay, to exact royalties on gold exported, and otherwise to secure the interests of its own people in the gold-fields, occasioned some ill-feeling among the Americans. Notwithstanding its rapidly growing population and important commercial interests, Alaska remained without effective governmental organization until June, 1900, when an Act of Congress erected it into a civil and judicial district, with a governor, a system of courts, and a special code of laws.

894. Samoa.—The relations of the United States with Samoa underwent a radical change during President McKinley's administration. By the Berlin treaty of 1889,

the affairs of Samoa were placed under the joint supervision of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. On the death of King Malietoa, in August, 1898, a dispute arose over the choice of his successor. The Germans supported Mataafa, while the English and Americans favored Malietoa Tanu, a son of the late king. The election of Mataafa by the native chiefs was set aside by a decision of the chief-justice, an American; but the German consul refused to recognize Malietoa as king. In January, 1899, the Malietoan government was overthrown, and a provisional government set up. Disputes and complications led rapidly to war, and in March British and American vessels bombarded a number of Samoan villages. At the suggestion of Germany, which disapproved of the course taken by the other Powers, a joint commission was created to deal with the matter. The commissioners succeeded in having the office of king abolished, and a provisional government, composed of the consuls of the three Powers, set up. In November, a partition of the islands was agreed upon. In return for the cession by Germany of some islands in the south Pacific, Great Britain relinquished to the United States and Germany its claims in the Samoan group, and the two Powers then divided the islands between them. The United States received the island of Tutuila, with the important harbor of Pago-Pago, and the other islands east of longitude 171° west.

895. The Proposed Isthmian Canal.—The agitation in favor of national aid in the construction of an interoceanic canal across Central America (§ 834), which had not been allowed to decline, received new impetus as a result of the war with Spain, and the sudden rise of important American interests in the Pacific. In July, 1897, a Nicaragua Canal Commission was appointed, to report on

the feasibility and cost of a canal across Nicaragua, that country at the same time apparently withdrawing certain opposition it had lately shown. In his annual message in December, 1898, President McKinley recommended the construction of a canal to be controlled by the United States; but a bill to give effect to the recommendation failed to pass both Houses of Congress. An appropriation of \$1,000,000 was made, however, for the further investigation of practicable routes. The report of the Commission, submitted in May, 1899, recommended the adoption of the route by way of Lake Nicaragua, and estimated the cost of the canal at \$118,000,000. Another commission, appointed in June, reported in favor of the same route, but estimated the cost at \$200,000,000.

896. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.—In connection with the movement for a canal exclusively under American control, the desirability of abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, between Great Britain and the United States, by which the two Powers had agreed that neither should attempt to exercise exclusive control over any canal across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, was much discussed. In February, 1900, a treaty was signed by representatives of the two countries, by which Great Britain "renounced all right to joint construction, ownership, or maintenance" of an isthmian canal, while agreeing to join with the United States in guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal. In the guarantee of neutrality other nations were to be asked to unite. Opposition to neutralization resulted in an amendment to the treaty in the Senate, providing that the treaty should not operate to prevent "measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order." The treaty was ratified by the Senate

December 20, but with this amendment and a further one declaring the Clayton-Bulwer treaty superseded. Great Britain refused to accept the treaty with these amendments.

897. The Hague Conference.—In August, 1898, Count Muravieff, the Russian foreign minister, proposed to the representatives of other governments at St. Petersburg the holding of an international congress, to consider means of stopping the increase of armaments among nations, and of bringing about permanent peace. The proposal, renewed in more definite form in January, 1899, awakened world-wide interest. The conference, comprising delegates from 27 countries, including the United States, met at The Hague, May 18, and remained in session until July 29. The conclusions reached were embodied in a number of declarations and resolutions, the most important of which pledged the Powers agreeing to it to resort to mediation or arbitration, wherever possible, for the settlement of international disputes, and provided for a permanent international tribunal to deal with arbitration cases. The arbitration proposals were ratified by the Senate of the United States February 5, 1900.

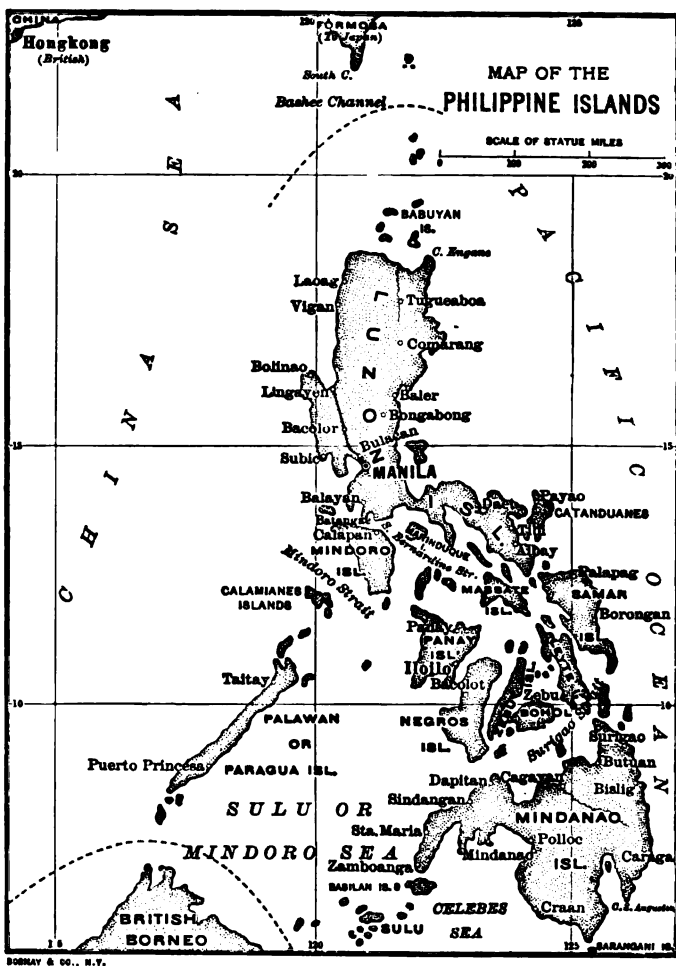
898. War Department Investigation.—The reports of privation and disease among the American troops, both at home and in Cuba, during the war with Spain, led to general public criticism of the management of the war, and to charges of incompetency, favoritism, and corruption in the War Department. Indignation was especially aroused by the alarming prevalence of typhoid fever in the home camps. The reply of friends of the Administration that the charges were grossly exaggerated, and that such unfavorable conditions as existed were largely the result of ignorance and neglect on the part of the troops themselves, failed to satisfy the public; and in September, 1898, the Secretary of War asked for an investigation of

his department. The commission of inquiry, after taking considerable testimony and visiting the camps in the United States, made their report in February, 1899. The report dismissed the charges of dishonesty as not proven, and pronounced the general conduct of the war "highly creditable to the department and to the country"; but the War Department was criticised for lack of judgment in specific instances, as well as for its imperfect organization and "red tape." In July, Secretary Alger resigned, his place being taken by Elihu Root, of New York.

899. The Beef Episode.—The assertion of General Miles, in the course of the investigation, that the canned beef furnished the troops was unfit for food, coupled with the description of the refrigerated beef as "embalmed," or chemically preserved, made a great sensation, and led to a scandalous denunciation of General Miles by Commissary-General Eagan. Eagan was court-martialled and sentenced to dismissal from the army; but the President commuted the sentence to six years' suspension from rank and duty, without loss of pay. A military court of inquiry sustained General Miles's criticism of the canned beef, and pronounced the purchase of 7,000,000 pounds of it "a colossal error," but reported that the charge concerning refrigerated beef was not borne out by the evidence.

900. The War in the Philippines.—The transfer of the Philippines to the United States, at the close of the war with Spain, was deeply resented by Aguinaldo and his followers, who desired independence. The instructions issued to General Otis, in command of the American forces at Manila, asserted the sovereignty of the United States over the islands, and declared the policy of the United States to be one of "benevolent assimilation"; but they further stated that those who resisted were to be dealt with by "the strong arm of authority." In Jan-

uary, 1899, three civil commissioners were appointed to act with General Otis and Admiral Dewey in the admin-



istration of affairs. Before their arrival, however, hostilities began between the Tagalos, on the island of Luzon,

and the Americans, the latter being reinforced by about 10,000 troops from the United States. In such regular engagements as took place, the Americans were generally successful, and gradually pushed their way into remote parts of the island, and the contest, on the part of the natives, assumed more and more of a guerilla character, but was for some time without substantial results so far as the general pacification of the island was concerned. Various negotiations with the American commissioners failed because of the insistence of the Filipinos upon independence. A proclamation of amnesty to such as should, within ninety days, take the oath of allegiance to the United States, was issued in June 1900, but failed of general acceptance, and hostilities shortly increased in seriousness. By the end of the year, however, it became evident that the strength of the insurrection had been broken; and, in March 1901, Aguinaldo was captured. He soon took the oath of allegiance and issued a manifesto advising his followers to accept the rule of the United States. Elsewhere than in Luzon, American rule had from the first been accepted with comparatively little opposition.

901. The Government of the Philippines.—The failure of Congress to make provision for the government of the Philippines left the control of the islands in the hands of the President. A provisional organization, under a military governor, was effected in Negros, and municipal governments were nominally established at several places in the provinces of Manila and Cavité. The city of Manila, however, remained under martial law, though the public schools were opened, and a native police system was inaugurated. The Sultan of the Sulu Archipelago made an agreement recognizing the sovereignty of the United States, but retaining practical independence in internal

affairs. In February 1900, the Philippine Commission made a report and outlined a scheme of government. In the same month a new commission was sent out, entrusted with the sole power of appointment and legislation, the military governor continuing to be the executive head. Under the direction of the commission a civil service board was shortly established. In January 1901, President McKinley, in a special message, urged Congress to make immediate provision for the establishment of civil government in the Philippines, but no action was taken save the adoption of an amendment to the Army Bill, leaving the control of the islands, pending further legislation, in the hands of the President.

902. Cuba.—The control of Cuba passed formally into the hands of the United States January 1, 1899, and the last of the Spanish soldiers shortly afterward embarked for Spain. The administration of the island was placed in charge of a military governor-general, with army officers as governors of the several provinces and the city of Havana. In the course of the next few months, a form of civil government was gradually put in operation, under the supervision of the military authorities. Administrative reforms followed rapidly; the system of taxation was remodelled, a new customs tariff put in operation, and the Cuban coasting trade opened to American vessels. The disbandment of the Cuban army was also effected, after some delay and opposition, \$3,000,000 having been appropriated by the United States for the payment of the troops. Save for occasional outbreaks of disorder in different parts of the island, peace and quiet in general prevailed. The cleaning of the cities, especially Havana and Santiago, operated greatly to reduce the amount of yellow fever. The appointment, in December, of Major-General Leonard Wood to succeed General Brooke as

governor-general, was followed by further legal and administrative reforms, and the introduction of a public-school system on the American model.

903. Porto Rico.—Porto Rico passed formally under the control of the United States October 18, 1898, and General Brooke was appointed governor-general. A customs tariff, in which no preference was given to American goods, had already been drawn up, at the direction of the War Department. Under General Guy V. Henry, who succeeded General Brooke in December, the policy of giving the Porto Ricans as large representation as possible in official appointments was followed, and numerous administrative and legal reforms were inaugurated. An Insular Commission, appointed by the President to investigate affairs in the island, reported in



PORTO RICO.

August, 1899, recommending various reforms, and submitting a draft of a code of laws. A reorganization of the civil government, in the interest of simplicity and economy, was effected by General George W. Davis, who had succeeded General Henry in April. A hurricane which

swept over the island in August caused great destruction of property, including the fruit and coffee plantations, killed more than 2600 people, and left 250,000 persons destitute. A call for aid met with quick response in the United States. In April, 1900, Congress established a form of government for Porto Rico. The act provided for a governor and council—one half of the latter to be Porto Ricans—appointed by the President, and an elected House of Delegates. Most of the laws of the United States, so far as applicable, were extended to the island, and the United States was to be represented by a resident commissioner. Mr. Charles H. Allen, of Massachusetts, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was appointed the first governor. A census of Porto Rico taken in November and December, under the direction of the War Department, showed a population of 953,243, of whom 589,426 were whites.

904. The Porto Rican Tariff.—To meet the expenses of the civil government, the Porto Rican act of April 12 further provided for the imposition of tariff duties, on commerce between Porto Rico and the United States, of fifteen per cent. of existing rates. This provision was to be in force for two years. The discussion of this portion of the act attracted the attention of the whole country. In his message of December, 1899, President McKinley had declared it to be "our plain duty" to "abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico"; and the bill as first drawn provided for free trade between the two regions. Strong opposition was immediately manifested by friends of protected industries, on the ground not only of danger to American interests, but of the dangerous precedent which such action would establish for later treatment of the Philippines. A proposition which the President, notwithstanding his

previous declaration, was now known to favor, fixing the tariff rates at twenty-five per cent. of existing rates, on the ground that the revenue was needed in the island, was vigorously opposed by the Democrats and by a small but influential group of Republicans, popularly known as "insurgents." Aside from the constitutional argument, which was elaborated at great length, the opponents of the measure insisted that it would violate good faith with Porto Rico, and would be interpreted as a surrender to the demands of protected interests in the United States. To conciliate the "insurgents," the proportionate rates were reduced to fifteen per cent., and the operation of the provision limited to two years. The final vote in each House was close, being 40 to 31 in the Senate, and 161 to 153 in the House of Representatives. As a further concession, Congress, on the recommendation of the President, had already passed an act appropriating to the immediate needs of the island "all money collected or to be collected as duties on products of Porto Rico in the ports of the United States." The reduction of the tariff between Porto Rico and the United States was followed by a large increase in both the exports and the imports of the island.

905. Expansion and Imperialism.—The decision of the President to retain the Philippines at the close of the war with Spain, together with the failure to give any assurance of ultimate independence to the conquered territories, precipitated a general and absorbing discussion of the policy which the course of the Administration seemed to favor. On the side of "expansion" were arrayed not only many radical politicians, who wished the United States to adopt "an aggressive foreign policy," and take an active part in "world politics," but many conservative leaders as well, who argued that circumstances had com-

pelled us to take charge of the territory won from Spain, and that the new responsibilities, however unwelcome, could not be evaded. On the other hand, the opponents of expansion, or the anti-imperialists, as they were generally called, denied the necessity or propriety of exercising anything more than a temporary protectorate over the Philippines, and insisted that the United States ought plainly to declare its purpose to give the people of the islands their independence. They further urged that nothing but danger could attend a departure from the historic policy of the United States in its international relations, pointed out the unfitness of our form of government for the administration of colonies and dependencies, and cited the increased military and naval expenses as the logical accompaniments of an imperialistic programme. The discussion, everywhere earnest, and in reality involving the whole question of the future of the United States, was embittered by extreme acts and expressions on both sides; while the failure of President McKinley to take a definite stand exposed him to the charge of weakness and vacillation, and of following rather than leading public opinion.

906. The Election of 1900.—The presidential campaign of 1900 turned mainly on the question of **expansion**, to which policy the Republican party was regarded as committed. The selection of the principal candidates for President was long foreseen. The Republican national convention met at Philadelphia in June, and renominated President McKinley, with Theodore Roosevelt, governor of New York, as the candidate for Vice-President. The platform indorsed the McKinley administration, declared allegiance to protection and the gold standard, approved the annexation of Hawaii, and called for the construction and control of an isthmian canal by the United States. The policy of the Administration in “maintaining the efficiency

of the civil service'' was commended. In regard to the new possessions, the platform accepted the responsibilities following from the war with Spain, promised to the people of the acquired territory "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties," and pledged independence and self-government to Cuba. The Democratic convention at Kansas City, in July, nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska (§ 865), for President, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois (§ 854), for Vice-President. The platform declared against imperialism, but not against territorial expansion, "when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens"; denounce the policy of the Republican Administration in the Philippines; and reaffirmed the principles of the Chicago platform of 1896, including the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Democratic candidates were indorsed by the silver Republicans and the Populists, and Mr. Bryan had also the endorsement of the Anti-Imperialistic League. The gold Democrats, while making no nomination for President, declared against the election of Mr. Bryan. The Republican candidates received 292 electoral votes out of a total of 447.

907. The Leading Events of President McKinley's administration were as follows:

1897-1901: President McKinley's Term of Office.....	§ 869
1897: Anti-Trust decision.....	891
Monetary commission appointed...	872
Arbitration treaty rejected.....	867
Senate recognition of Cuban bel-	
ligerency.....	873
Nicaragua canal commission ap-	
pointed.....	895

1897: Dingley tariff	870
Order extending the classified service	892
Klondike gold excitement	893
Spain decrees autonomy for Cuba and Porto Rico	874
Sale of Union Pacific Railway	890
1898: Monetary conference at Indianapolis	889
Sale of Kansas Pacific Railway	890
De Lome letter	876
Loss of the <i>Maine</i>	877
President McKinley offers mediation between Spain and the Cubans	878
\$50,000,000 appropriated for the national defence	879
Armistice in Cuba proclaimed by Spain	878
McKinley's war message	§ 878
Blockade of Cuba	882
Call for 125,000 volunteers	880
Declaration of war against Spain ...	879
Battle of Manila Bay	881
Cervera blockaded at Santiago	882
Anglo-American commission	887
Landing of American force at Daiquiri	882
La Quasima taken by Americans ..	882
Guantanamo taken by Americans and Cubans	884
War revenue act	886
San Juan and Caney taken by Americans	882
Cervera's fleet destroyed	882
Surrender of Santiago	882
Occupation of Porto Rico by Americans	883
Russian peace proposals	897
Peace preliminaries signed	885
Hawaii annexed	888
Manila taken by Americans	881

1898: Porto Rico transferred to the United States.....	903
Treaty of peace.....	885
Secretary Gage's report on currency reform.....	889
1899: Cuba transferred to control of the United States.....	902
First Philippine commission appointed.....	900
Treaty of peace ratified by the Senate.....	885
Gen. Geo. W. Davis appointed governor of Porto Rico.....	903
Report of the Nicaragua canal commission.....	895
Peace conference at The Hague...	897
New Nicaragua canal commission appointed.....	895
Order removing places from the classified service.....	892
Report of the Porto Rico insular commission..	§ 903
War Department investigation....	898
Samoan settlement.....	894
Gen. Leonard Wood appointed governor of Cuba.....	902
President McKinley recommends free trade with Porto Rico.....	904
1900: Proposed abrogation of Clayton-Bulwer treaty.....	896
Hague arbitration proposals ratified by the Senate.....	897
Report on the War Department investigation.....	898
Report of the Philippine commission.....	901
Second Philippine commission appointed.....	901
Act establishing the gold standard.	889
Act appropriating customs revenues to Porto Rico.....	904
Porto Rico government act.....	903

1900: Hawaiian government act.....	888
The election of 1900.....	906

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. The Philippines under Spanish rule.
2. Military and naval reorganization, 1897-1900.
3. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty.
4. English colonial administration.
5. Trusts.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING.

Aside from the official publications of the government, and the daily proceedings of Congress, light on our newest history must be sought chiefly in newspapers and periodicals. The leading magazines, during 1898-99, discussed almost every phase of the war with Spain, and published numerous articles by prominent participants.

APPENDIX I

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS AS- SEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident :—That all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an

absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States ;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences ;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments ;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity ; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies solemnly pub-

lish and declare, That these united colonies, are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members :—

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.	NEW JERSEY.	Charles Carroll, of Car-
Josiah Bartlett,	Richard Stockton,	rollton.
William Whipple,	John Witherspoon,	VIRGINIA.
Matthew Thornton.	Francis Hopkinson,	George Wythe,
	John Hart,	Richard Henry Lee,
MASSACHUSETTS BAY.	Abraham Clark.	Thomas Jefferson,
Samuel Adams,	PENNSYLVANIA.	Benjamin Harrison,
John Adams,	Robert Morris,	Thomas Nelson, Jr.,
Robert Treat Paine,	Benjamin Rush,	Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Elbridge Gerry.	Benjamin Franklin,	Carter Braxton.
RHODE ISLAND.	John Morton,	NORTH CAROLINA.
Stephen Hopkins,	George Clymer,	William Hooper,
William Ellery.	James Smith,	Joseph Hewes,
CONNECTICUT.	George Taylor,	John Penn.
Roger Sherman,	James Wilson,	SOUTH CAROLINA.
Samuel Huntington,	George Ross.	Edward Rutledge,
William Williams,	DELAWARE.	Thomas Heyward, Jr.,
Oliver Wolcott.	Cæsar Rodney,	Thomas Lynch, Jr.,
NEW YORK.	George Read,	Arthur Middleton.
William Floyd,	Thomas M'Kean.	GEORGIA.
Philip Livingston,	MARYLAND.	Button Gwinnett,
Francis Lewis,	Samuel Chase,	Lyman Hall,
Lewis Morris.	William Paca,	George Walton.
	Thomas Stone,	

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops ; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army.

APPENDIX II

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION
BETWEEN THE STATES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,¹ MASSACHUSETTS BAY,² RHODE ISLAND AND³ PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS,⁴ CONNECTICUT,⁵ NEW YORK,⁶ NEW JERSEY,⁷ PENNSYLVANIA,⁸ DELAWARE,⁹ MARYLAND,¹⁰ VIRGINIA,¹¹ NORTH CAROLINA,¹² SOUTH CAROLINA, AND¹³ GEORGIA.

ARTICLE I.—The style of this Confederacy shall be, “The United States of America.”

ARTICLE II.—Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III.—The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV.—The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States or either of them. If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State shall

flee from justice and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence. Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE V.—For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year. No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. Each State shall maintain its own delegates in any meeting of the States and while they act as members of the Committee of the States. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrest and imprisonment during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on, Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI.—No State, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States, in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States, in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State or its trade, nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use in public stores a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States, in Congress assembled, can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States, in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VII.—When land forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of Colonel shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII.—All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of land within each State, granted to or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX.—The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace

and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth Article ; of sending and receiving ambassadors ; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever ; of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land and water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated ; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace ; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas ; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures ; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever ; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following : Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question ; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen ; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot ; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination ; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing ; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive ; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the

authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive ; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned ; provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, " well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands and the State which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and conclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States ; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States ; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States ; provided that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated ; establishing and regulating post offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office ; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers ; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States ; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated, " A Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State, and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction ; to appoint one of their number to preside ; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years ;

to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled; but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the Legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number can not be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same, nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on

any question, shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate ; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

ARTICLE X.—The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with ; provided that no power be delegated to the said Committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States as assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE XI.—Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this Union ; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE XII.—All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII.—Every State shall abide by the determination of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual ; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.

AND WHEREAS it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify, the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them ; and that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States

we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

APPENDIX III

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREAMBLE

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I. 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress¹ of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

Legislative powers.

SEC. II. 1. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

House of representatives.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Qualifications of representatives.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,² which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.³ The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall

Apportionment of representatives.

¹ The body of senators and representatives for each term of two years for which representatives are chosen is called *one Congress*. Each Congress expires at noon of the 4th of March next succeeding the beginning of its second regular session, when a *new Congress* begins.

² The apportionment under the census of 1890 is one representative to every 173,901 persons.

³ This refers to slaves, and is no longer in force (see Amendment XIII.).

by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative ; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three ; Massachusetts, eight ; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one ; Connecticut, five ; New York, six ; New Jersey, four ; Pennsylvania, eight ; Delaware, one ; Maryland, six ; Virginia, ten ; North Carolina, five ; South Carolina, five ; and Georgia, three.

Vacancies. 4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers, how appointed. 5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers,¹ and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. III. 1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years ; and each senator shall have one vote.

Classification of senators. 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year ; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year ; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifications of senators. 3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States ; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

President of the senate. 4. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate ; but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers,² and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

Senate a court for trial of impeachments. 6. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside ; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

¹ Clerk, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, postmaster and others. The Speaker is the presiding officer.

² Secretary, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, postmaster and others.

7. Judgment, in case of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Judgment in case of conviction.

SEC. IV. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

Elections of senators and of representatives.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Meeting of Congress.

SEC. V. 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Organization of Congress.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Rule of proceeding.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Journal of Congress.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Adjournment of Congress.

SEC. VI. 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation¹ for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Pay and privileges of members.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office, under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office

Plurality of offices prohibited.

¹ The present compensation is \$5,000 a year, with twenty cents for every mile of travel by the most usually travelled post route to and from the national capital.

under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SEC. VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives ; but the senate may propose Revenue bills. or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the How bills be- president of the United States. If he approve, he shall come laws. sign it ; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But, in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary Approval and (except on a question of adjournment), shall be pre- veto powers sent to the president of the United States ; and be- of the presi- fore the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. VIII. The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, im- Powers vested posts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the in Congress. United States :

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States :

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes :

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States :

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures :

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States :

7. To establish post offices and post roads :

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries :

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court :

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations :

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water :

12. To raise and support armies ; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years :

13. To provide and maintain a navy :

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces :

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions :

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress :

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States ;¹ and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings : and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight ; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.²

Immigrants.
how admitted.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

Habeas cor-
pus.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

Attainder.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration here-
inbefore directed to be taken.

Direct taxes.

¹ The District of Columbia.

² This has reference to the foreign slave trade.

Regulations
regarding
duties.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

6. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Moneys, how
drawn.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

Titles of
nobility
prohibited.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Powers of
states
defined.

SEC. X. 1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts ; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

Executive
power, in
whom vested.

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress ; but no senator, or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

Electors.

[3. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. Proceedings of electors, And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, and of house of representatives. then the house of representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said house shall, in like manner, choose the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But, if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president.]¹

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.² Time of choosing electors.

5. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States. Qualifications of the president.

6. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected. Resort in case of his disability.

¹ This clause, within brackets, has been superseded by the 12th Amendment.

² The electors are chosen on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November preceding the expiration of a presidential term, and vote for president and vice-president on the second Monday of the January following. The votes are counted and declared in Congress the second Wednesday of the following February.

7. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.¹

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

Oath. "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. II. 1. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer, in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective officers; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. III. 1. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient;¹ he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall

¹ The salary of the president was \$25,000 a year until 1872, when it was increased to \$50,000. That of the vice-president is \$8,000 a year.

² The president does this in messages at the opening of each session. Washington and John Adams read their messages in person to both houses of Congress. Jefferson introduced the present practice of sending to the two houses a written message by his private secretary.

receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. IV. 1. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

How officers
may be re-
moved.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Judicial
power, how
vested.

SEC. II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state;¹ between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states; and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

To what
cases it
extends.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

Jurisdiction
of the su-
preme court.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Rules
respecting
trials.

SEC. III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Treason
defined.

¹ See Amendments, Art. XI.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason ; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

How
punished.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Rights of
states.

SEC. II. 1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

Privileges
of citizens.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.¹

Executive
requisitions.

3. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor ; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.²

Law regulating
service or
labor.

SEC. III. 1. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new states shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislature of the states concerned, as well as of the Congress.

New states,
how formed
and admitted.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Power of
Congress over
public lands.

SEC. IV. 1. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion ; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

Republican
government
guaranteed.

ARTICLE V.

1. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution ; or, on

¹ See § 502.

² See §§ 284, 556.

the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

Constitution,
how to be
amended.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the Confederation.

Validity of
debts recog-
nized.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

Supreme law
of the land
defined.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Oath ; of
whom re-
quired, and
for what.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.¹

Ratification.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.²

GEO. WASHINGTON,
Presidt. and deputy from Virginia.

¹ See § 286.

² The number of delegates chosen to the convention was sixty-five ; ten did not attend ; sixteen declined to sign the Constitution, or left the convention before it was ready to be signed. Thirty-nine signed.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.	PENNSYLVANIA.	VIRGINIA.
John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.	B. Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robt. Morris, Geo: Clymer, Tho: Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouv: Morris.	John Blair, James Madison, Jr.
MASSACHUSETTS.		NORTH CAROLINA.
Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.		Wm. Blount, Rich'd Dobbs Spaight, Hu. Williamson.
CONNECTICUT.	DELAWARE.	
Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman.	Geo: Read, Gunning Bedford, Jun'r, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jaco: Broom.	SOUTH CAROLINA.
NEW YORK.		J. Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
NEW JERSEY.	MARYLAND.	
Wil. Livingston, David Brearley, Wm. Paterson, Jona. Dayton.	James M'Henry, Dan: of St. Thos. Jeni- fer, Danl. Carroll.	GEORGIA.
		William Few, Abr. Baldwin.
	Attest : WILLIAM JACKSON, <i>Secretary</i> .	

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

¹ ART. I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ART. II. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ART. III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ART. IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ART. V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment

¹ The first ten amendments were proposed in 1789, and declared adopted in 1791.

of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war ^{Capital} or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the ^{crimes.} same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ART. VI. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, ^{Trial by} and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accu- ^{jury.} sation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ART. VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by ^{Suits at com-} jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury ^{mon law.} shall be otherwise re-examined, in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. ^{Bail, fines, etc.}

ART. IX. The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. ^{Reserved rights.}

ART. X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. ^{Powers re-}

¹ ART. XI. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, ^{Judicial power} by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of ^{limited.} any foreign state.

² ART. XII. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, ^{Amendment to Art. II., Sec. 4, respecting election of president and vice-president.}

¹ The eleventh amendment was proposed in 1794, and declared adopted in 1798.

² The twelfth amendment was proposed in 1803, and declared adopted in 1804.

and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the senate shall choose the vice-president; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

¹ ART. XIII. SEC. I. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. II. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

² ART. XIV. SEC. I. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. II. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But

¹ The thirteenth amendment was proposed and adopted in 1865 (§ 757).

² The fourteenth amendment was proposed in 1866, and adopted in 1868 (§ 763).

when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

SEC. III. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of president or vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. IV. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave ; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. V. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

¹ ART. XV. SEC. I. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. II. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ The fifteenth amendment was proposed in 1869, and adopted in 1870 (§ 789).

APPENDIX IV

FORMATION OF STATES

1. Delaware ratified the Constitution.....	Dec. 7, 1787
2. Pennsylvania " "	Dec. 12, 1787
3. New Jersey " "	Dec. 18, 1787
4. Georgia " "	Jan. 2, 1788
5. Connecticut " "	Jan. 9, 1788
6. Massachusetts " "	Feb. 6, 1788
7. Maryland " "	Apr. 28, 1788
8. South Carolina " "	May 23, 1788
9. New Hampshire " "	June 21, 1788
10. Virginia " "	June 25, 1788
11. New York " "	July 26, 1788
12. North Carolina " "	Nov. 21, 1789
13. Rhode Island " "	May 29, 1790
14. Vermont admitted to the Union.....	Mar. 4, 1791
15. Kentucky " "	June 1, 1792
16. Tennessee " "	June 1, 1796
17. Ohio " "	Nov. 29, 1802
18. Louisiana " "	Apr. 30, 1812
19. Indiana " "	Dec. 11, 1816
20. Mississippi " "	Dec. 10, 1817
21. Illinois " "	Dec. 3, 1818
22. Alabama " "	Dec. 14, 1819
23. Maine " "	Mar. 15, 1820
24. Missouri " "	Aug. 10, 1821
25. Arkansas " "	June 15, 1836
26. Michigan " "	Jan. 26, 1837
27. Florida " "	Mar. 3, 1845
28. Texas " "	Dec. 29, 1845
29. Iowa " "	Dec. 28, 1846
30. Wisconsin " "	May 29, 1848
31. California " "	Sept. 9, 1850
32. Minnesota " "	May 11, 1858
33. Oregon " "	Feb. 14, 1859
34. Kansas " "	Jan. 29, 1861
35. West Virginia " "	June 19, 1863
36. Nevada " "	Oct. 31, 1864
37. Nebraska " "	Mar. 1, 1867
38. Colorado " "	Aug. 1, 1876
39. North Dakota " "	Nov. 3, 1889
40. South Dakota " "	Nov. 3, 1889
41. Montana " "	Nov. 8, 1889
42. Washington " "	Nov. 11, 1889
43. Idaho " "	July 3, 1890
44. Wyoming " "	July 10, 1890
45. Utah " "	Jan. 4, 1896

APPENDIX V
GROWTH OF THE STATES

[The States are arranged according to population in 1900.]

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
1. New York.....	340,120	589,051	959,049	1,372,111	1,918,608	2,428,921	3,097,394	3,886,735	4,384,759	5,082,871	5,997,853	7,268,012
2. Pennsylvania..	434,373	602,365	810,091	1,047,507	1,348,233	1,724,033	2,311,786	2,906,215	3,521,951	4,282,891	5,058,014	6,302,115
3. Illinois.....	.....	.....	12,282	55,162	157,445	476,183	851,470	1,711,951	2,539,891	3,077,871	3,866,351	4,821,550
4. Ohio.....	.....	45,365	230,760	581,295	937,993	1,519,467	1,980,399	2,336,511	2,663,260	3,108,062	3,672,316	4,157,545
5. Missouri.....	.....	.....	20,845	66,557	140,455	383,702	682,044	1,182,012	1,721,295	2,168,380	2,679,184	3,106,665
6. Texas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	212,592	604,215	817,579	1,591,749	2,235,523	3,048,710
7. Massachusetts..	378,787	422,845	472,040	523,159	610,408	737,699	994,514	1,231,066	1,454,351	1,783,085	2,238,943	2,805,346
8. Indiana.....	.....	5,641	24,520	147,178	343,031	685,866	988,416	1,350,428	1,680,637	2,078,301	2,402,401	2,816,462
9. Michigan.....	.....	.....	4,762	8,765	31,039	212,267	397,654	749,113	1,184,059	1,624,615	2,093,889	2,510,982
10. Iowa.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	43,112	192,214	674,913	1,194,020	1,624,615	1,911,896	2,231,853
11. Georgia.....	82,548	162,686	252,433	340,985	516,823	691,392	906,185	1,057,286	1,184,109	1,542,120	1,837,353	2,216,331
12. Kentucky.....	73,677	220,935	406,511	564,135	687,917	779,828	982,405	1,155,684	1,321,011	1,648,690	1,858,635	2,147,174
13. Wisconsin.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30,945	305,391	775,881	1,054,670	1,315,497	1,686,880	2,069,042
14. Tennessee.....	35,691	105,602	261,727	422,771	681,904	829,210	1,022,717	1,209,801	1,293,520	1,542,359	1,767,518	2,020,616
15. North Carolina.	393,751	478,103	555,600	638,829	737,987	753,419	869,039	992,622	1,071,361	1,309,750	1,617,947	1,893,810
16. New Jersey....	184,139	211,149	245,562	277,426	320,823	373,366	489,555	679,035	906,096	1,131,116	1,444,933	1,883,669
17. Virginia.....	747,610	880,200	974,600	1,065,116	1,211,405	1,239,757	1,421,661	1,596,318	1,222,163	1,512,565	1,655,980	1,854,184
18. Alabama.....	.....	.....	.....	127,901	309,527	590,756	771,623	964,201	996,992	1,262,505	1,513,017	1,828,697
19. Minnesota.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,077	172,023	439,706	780,773	1,301,826	1,751,394
20. Mississippi.....	.....	8,850	40,352	75,448	136,621	375,651	666,526	791,395	827,922	1,131,597	1,289,600	1,551,270
21. California.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	92,597	379,994	562,247	864,694	1,208,130	1,485,053
22. Kansas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	107,206	364,399	906,096	1,277,096	1,470,495
23. Louisiana.....	.....	.....	76,556	152,923	215,739	332,411	517,762	708,022	726,915	939,946	1,118,587	1,381,635

GROWTH OF THE STATES—Continued

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
24. South Carolina.	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185	594,398	668,507	703,708	795,606	995,577	1,131,149	1,340,316
25. Arkansas.	.....	.....	.....	14,955	30,388	97,574	200,897	435,450	484,471	802,525	1,128,179	1,311,564
26. Maryland.	313,728	341,548	380,546	407,350	447,040	470,019	583,034	687,049	780,894	934,943	1,042,190	1,190,050
27. Nebraska.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	28,811	122,903	452,402	1,058,910	1,068,539
28. West Virginia.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	442,014	618,457	762,704	958,800
29. Connecticut.	237,046	251,002	261,042	275,148	297,675	309,978	370,792	460,147	537,454	622,700	746,258	908,355
30. Maine.	96,540	151,710	228,705	268,269	309,455	501,793	583,169	628,279	626,915	648,936	661,486	694,466
31. Colorado.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34,277	39,864	194,327	412,198	539,700
32. Washington.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	340,390	518,103
33. Rhode Island.	68,825	69,122	76,031	83,015	97,199	108,830	147,545	174,620	217,353	276,531	345,506	428,556
34. Oregon.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13,204	52,465	90,923	174,768	313,767	413,516
35. New Hampshire.	141,885	183,858	214,460	244,022	269,328	284,574	317,976	356,073	318,300	346,991	376,530	411,388
36. South Dakota.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	328,808	401,570
37. Vermont.	85,425	154,465	217,805	235,966	280,652	291,948	314,120	315,098	330,551	332,286	334,422	343,641
38. Florida.	.....	.....	.....	.....	34,730	54,477	87,445	140,424	187,748	269,493	391,422	528,542
39. North Dakota.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	182,719	319,146
40. Utah.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	276,749
41. Montana.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	134,159	243,329
42. Delaware.	59,006	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748	78,085	91,532	112,216	195,015	146,668	168,493	184,735
43. Idaho.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	84,385	161,772
44. Wyoming.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60,795	92,531
45. Nevada.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,857	42,491	62,266	45,761	42,335
Dist. of Columbia.	.....	14,093	24,023	33,039	39,834	43,712	51,687	75,080	131,700	177,624	230,322	278,718
Other Territories.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	72,997	184,497	311,030	606,819	* 482,958	1,325,888
Total Population.	3,999,214	5,308,483	7,230,881	9,633,822	12,866,000	17,069,453	23,101,876	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250	76,215,120

* The decrease is explained by the fact that the six most recently admitted States were Territories in 1880.

APPENDIX VI
GROWTH OF THE CITIES

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Albany, N. Y.	3,498	5,349	9,356	12,630	24,238	33,721	50,763	62,367	69,422	90,758	94,640	94,151
Allegheny, Pa.	21,261	28,702	53,180	78,682	104,907	120,896
Atlanta, Ga.	2,572	9,554	21,789	37,409	65,533	81,872
Baltimore, Md.	13,593	26,614	46,555	62,738	80,695	134,379	169,054	212,418	267,354	332,313	434,151	508,957
Boston, Mass.	18,038	24,027	32,250	43,298	61,392	93,381	136,881	177,812	250,526	362,359	446,597	566,892
Bridgeport, Conn.	1,089	1,500	2,800	3,204	7,560	13,999	18,966	27,643	48,866	70,096
Buffalo, N. Y.	1,508	2,095	8,653	18,213	42,261	81,129	17,714	155,134	254,457	352,387
Cambridge, Mass.	2,453	2,323	3,295	6,078	8,409	15,215	26,060	39,634	59,669	69,837	91,886
Camden, N. J.	3,371	9,479	14,358	20,045	41,659	58,313	75,935
Charleston, S. C.	18,924	24,711	24,780	30,289	29,261	42,985	40,522	48,056	49,084	54,955	55,807
Chicago, Ill.	4,479	20,063	100,260	208,977	503,185	1,098,576	1,668,575
Cincinnati, O.	750	2,540	9,644	24,831	46,338	115,436	161,044	216,239	255,139	296,309	395,002
Cleveland, O.	147	606	1,076	6,071	17,034	43,417	92,899	160,146	261,346	381,768
Columbus, O.	1,450	2,437	6,048	17,822	18,629	31,274	51,647	90,398	125,560
Dayton, O.	383	1,000	2,950	6,067	10,977	20,081	30,473	38,978	61,220	85,313
Denver, Colo.	4,749	4,759	4,759	35,620	106,213	173,819
Des Moines, Ia.	3,065	12,035	22,408	22,408	50,993	62,113
Detroit, Mich.	770	1,422	2,222	9,102	21,010	45,610	70,577	116,340	205,663	285,704
Evansville, Ind.	3,235	11,884	21,820	29,280	50,756	59,007
Fall River, Mass.	1,296	1,594	4,158	6,738	11,524	14,026	26,766	48,061	74,398	102,865
Grand Rapids, Mich.	2,686	8,885	16,597	32,016	60,378	87,156
Hartford, Conn.	5,347	3,955	4,740	7,074	9,468	17,066	29,112	37,180	42,015	53,738	79,890
Houston, Tex.	8,668	18,616	28,207	30,999	53,738	79,890
Indianapolis, Ind.	1,924	2,692	8,144	18,616	48,244	75,056	107,445	169,104
Jersey City, N. J.	3,072	6,856	29,226	82,540	120,722	163,487	266,433
Kansas City, Mo.	4,418	32,260	39,151	55,765	132,416	193,782
Lawrence, Mass.	8,282	17,639	28,021	39,151	44,054	62,559
Los Angeles, Cal.	1,610	4,365	5,728	11,183	50,395	102,479
Louisville, Ky.	359	1,357	4,012	10,132	21,210	43,194	68,073	100,753	123,758	161,005	204,731
Lowell, Mass.	6,474	9,376	33,383	30,827	40,928	50,475	77,065	94,969
Lynn, Mass.	2,817	4,087	4,515	6,136	9,367	14,257	19,683	28,233	38,274	55,727	68,513
Manchester, N. H.	761	877	13,931	20,107	23,536	32,610	44,126	56,687
Memphis, Tenn.	8,841	22,623	40,226	33,592	64,495	102,320

GROWTH OF THE CITIES.—Continued.

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Milwaukee, Wis.	1,700	20,061	45,246	71,440	115,587	204,150	285,315
Minneapolis, Minn.	2,564	13,066	24,718	46,887	164,718	202,718
Nashville, Tenn.	6,990	10,165	16,088	25,865	43,150	80,168	80,865
Newark, N. J.	6,597	10,953	17,900	38,804	72,914	105,050	136,108	181,518	246,070
New Bedford, Mass.	3,047	7,502	12,587	16,443	22,300	26,845	40,733	62,444	62,444
New Haven, Conn.	7,147	10,180	14,800	20,345	30,267	50,840	62,882	85,431	108,027
New Orleans, La.	27,176	46,310	102,193	116,375	168,675	216,000	211,093	287,102	287,102
New York City	33,131	60,489	96,373	123,706	203,007	312,710	515,547	895,651	942,902	1,206,900	1,513,505	3,437,302*
Oakland, Cal.	1,000	10,000	34,558	48,682	60,600
Omaha, Neb.	1,883	16,083	30,518	149,458	102,555
Paterson, N. J.	7,596	11,334	19,588	32,379	51,011	79,358	105,171
Peterborough, Pa.	1,407	5,095	14,045	22,849	29,750	41,024	56,100
Philadelphia, Pa.	42,590	70,287	96,664	108,116	167,188	258,037	340,045	509,590	674,022	847,170	1,044,294	1,293,067
Pittsburgh, Pa.	1,505	4,768	7,248	12,542	21,115	40,601	49,217	80,070	156,369	238,473	321,016
Portland, Ore.	821	2,874	8,203	17,577	46,385	90,426
Providence, R. I.	23,171	41,513	50,666	68,904	104,857	134,043	175,597
Reading, Pa.	23,160	15,743	23,078	33,930	43,278	58,061	78,961
Richmond, Va.	37,910	51,038	37,910	51,038	63,600	86,838	85,050
Rochester, N. Y.	20,153	27,570	48,204	62,386	86,366	130,327	162,668
Rochester, N. Y.	20,153	27,570	48,204	62,386	86,366	130,327	162,668
St. Joseph, Mo.	16,466	77,800	160,773	310,864	350,318	460,357	575,238
St. Louis, Mo.	1,112	1,112	10,401	20,030	41,473	133,156	163,065
St. Paul, Minn.	500	34,776	56,802	140,473	233,959	297,990	342,782
San Francisco, Cal.	11,214	15,312	22,202	28,235	30,709	43,186	54,244
Savannah, Ga.	9,223	35,092	45,790	75,215	102,026
Scranton, Pa.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Seattle, Wash.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Somerville, Mass.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Springfield, Mass.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Syracuse, N. Y.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Trenton, N. J.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Troy, N. Y.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Utica, N. Y.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Washington, D. C.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Washington, Del.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671
Worcester, Mass.	1,107	3,533	42,837	80,671

* Includes all of Greater New York.

APPENDIX VII

POPULATION OF THE SECTIONS, 1790-1860

Year.	Free States.	Slave States.
1790	1,968,453	1,961,374
1800	2,684,616	2,621,316
1810	3,758,910	3,480,902
1820	5,152,372	4,485,819
1830	7,006,399	5,848,312
1840	9,733,922	7,334,433
1850	13,599,488	9,663,997
1860	19,128,418	12,315,372

APPENDIX VIII

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE SECTIONS, 1790-1860

Year.	SENATE.		HOUSE.	
	Free States.	Slave States.	Free States.	Slave States.
1790	14	12	35	30
1792	16	14	57	48
1796	16	16	57	49
1800	16	16	57	49
1804	18	16	77	65
1808	18	16	77	65
1812	18	18	103	79
1816	20	18	104	79
1820	24	24	105	82
1824	24	24	123	90
1828	24	24	123	90
1832	24	24	141	99
1836	26	26	142	100
1840	26	26	142	100
1844	26	26	135	98
1848	30	30	139	91
1852	32	30	144	90
1856	32	30	144	90
1860	36	30	147	90

To find the Electoral Votes, add together the number of Senators and Representatives.

APPENDIX IX

THE SECTIONS IN 1870-1900

Sections.	1870. ¹			1880. ²			1890. ³			1900. ⁴		
	Popula- tion.	Senate.	House. Elect. Votes.	Popula- tion.	Senate.	House. Elect. Votes.	Popula- tion.	Senate.	House. Elect. Votes.	Popula- tion.	Senate.	House. Elect. Votes.
THE SOUTH (Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Md., Miss., N. C., S. C., Tenn., Tex., Va., W. Va.).	12,032,225	28	92	16,188,757	28	134	10,370,094	28	111	23,271,686	28	120
THE NORTH-WEST (Ill., Ia., Ind., Kan., Mich., Minn., Mo., Neb., O., Wis.).	12,702,299	20	98	17,229,810	20	114	22,369,279	24	128	26,335,243	24	136
THE MIDDLE STATES (Del., N. J., N. Y., Penn.).	8,941,625	8	68	10,644,523	8	70	12,869,493	8	73	15,638,531	8	80
NEW ENGLAND (Conn., Mass., Me., N. H., R. I., Vt.).	3,187,924	12	28	4,020,438	12	26	4,700,745	12	27	5,591,052	12	29
THE PACIFIC (Cal., Col., Nev., Or.).	889,789	8	7	1,296,367	8	9	2,814,400	18	18	3,773,108	18	21
Total	38,925,598	76	293	50,155,783	76	325	62,830,155	90	357	76,215,232	90	386

¹ The total population includes Territories and Indians. The Apportionment Act of Feb. 25, 1882, took effect March 3, 1883. ² The States of Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah are classed with the Pacific States. The Dakotas are classed with the North-west. The total population includes the Territories. The Apportionment Act of Feb. 7, 1891, took effect March 3, 1893. The Apportionment Act of Jan. 11, 1901, was to take effect March 3, 1903. The population of Porto Rico was 953,943 according to the Census of 1900.

APPENDIX X

CABINET OFFICERS OF THE ADMINISTRATIONS

GEORGE WASHINGTON (I. AND II.), 1789-1797.

Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, Virginia, September 26th, 1789; Edmund Randolph, Virginia, January 2d, 1794; Timothy Pickering, Pennsylvania, December 10th, 1795. *Secretary of Treasury*, Alexander Hamilton, New York, September 11th, 1789; Oliver Wolcott, Connecticut, February 2d, 1795. *Secretary of War*, Henry Knox, Massachusetts, September 12th, 1789; Timothy Pickering, Pennsylvania, January 2d, 1795; James McHenry, Maryland, January 27th, 1796. *Attorney-General*, Edmund Randolph, Virginia, September 26th, 1789; William Bradford, Pennsylvania, January 27th, 1794; Charles Lee, Virginia, December 10th, 1795. *Postmaster-General*,¹ E. Hazard, January 28th, 1782-September 29th, 1789; Samuel Osgood, Massachusetts, September 29th, 1789; Timothy Pickering, Pennsylvania, August 12th, 1791; Joseph Habersham, Georgia, February 25th, 1795.

JOHN ADAMS (III.), 1797-1801.

Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, continued; John Marshall, Virginia, May 13th, 1800. *Secretary of Treasury*, Oliver Wolcott, continued; Samuel Dexter, Massachusetts, January 1st, 1801. *Secretary of War*, James McHenry, continued; Samuel Dexter, Massachusetts, May 13th, 1800; Roger Griswold, Connecticut, February 3d, 1801. *Secretary of Navy*,² George Cabot, Massachusetts, May 3d, 1798; Benjamin Stoddert, Maryland, May 21st, 1798. *Attorney-General*, Charles Lee, continued; Theophilus Parsons, Massachusetts, February 20th, 1801. *Postmaster-General*, Joseph Habersham, continued.

¹ Not a Cabinet officer, but a subordinate of the Treasury Department until 1820.

² Naval affairs were under the control of the Secretary of War until a separate Navy Department was organized by Act of April 3th, 1798. The Acts organizing the other Departments were of the following dates: *State*, September 15th, 1789; *Treasury*, September 2d, 1789; *War*, August 7th, 1789. The Attorney-General's duties were regulated by the Judiciary Act of September 24th, 1789. *Interior*, March 3d, 1849. For the establishment of the Department of Agriculture, see § 206.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (IV. AND V.), 1801-1809.

Secretary of State, James Madison, Virginia, March 5th, 1801. *Secretary of Treasury*, Samuel Dexter, continued; Albert Gallatin, Pennsylvania, May 14th, 1801. *Secretary of War*, Henry Dearborn, Massachusetts, March 5th, 1801. *Secretary of Navy*, Benjamin Stoddert, continued; Robert Smith, Maryland, July 15th, 1801; Jacob Crowninshield, Massachusetts, May 3d, 1805. *Attorney-General*, Levi Lincoln, Massachusetts, March 5th, 1801; Robert Smith, Maryland, March 3d, 1805; John Breckinridge, Kentucky, August 7th, 1805; Cæsar A. Rodney, Pennsylvania, January 20th, 1807. *Postmaster-General*, Joseph Habersham, continued; Gideon Granger, Connecticut, November 28th, 1801.

JAMES MADISON (VI. AND VII.), 1809-1817.

Secretary of State, Robert Smith, Maryland, March 6th, 1809; James Monroe, Virginia, April 2d, 1811. *Secretary of Treasury*, Albert Gallatin, continued; George W. Campbell, Tennessee, February 9th, 1814; A. J. Dallas, Pennsylvania, October 6th, 1814; William H. Crawford, Georgia, October 22d, 1816. *Secretary of War*, William Eustis, Massachusetts, March 7th, 1809; John Armstrong, New York, January 13th, 1813; James Monroe, Virginia, September 27th, 1814; William H. Crawford, Georgia, August 1st, 1815. *Secretary of Navy*, Paul Hamilton, South Carolina, March 7th, 1809; William Jones, Pennsylvania, January 12th, 1813; B. W. Crowninshield, Massachusetts, December 19th, 1814. *Attorney-General*, C. A. Rodney, continued; William Pinckney, Maryland, December 11th, 1811; Richard Rush, Pennsylvania, February 10th, 1814. *Postmaster-General*, Gideon Granger, continued; Return J. Meigs, Ohio, March 17th, 1814.

JAMES MONROE (VIII. AND IX.), 1817-1825.

Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, Massachusetts, March 5th, 1817. *Secretary of Treasury*, William H. Crawford, continued. *Secretary of War*, George Graham, Virginia, April 7th, 1817; John C. Calhoun, South Carolina, October 8th, 1817. *Secretary of Navy*, B. W. Crowninshield, continued; Smith Thompson, New York, November 9th, 1818; John Rogers, Massachusetts, September 1st, 1823; Samuel L. Southard, New Jersey, September 16th, 1823. *Attorney-General*, Richard Rush, continued; William Wirt, Virginia, November 13th, 1817. *Postmaster-General*, R. J. Meigs, continued; John McLean, Ohio, June 26th, 1823.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (X.). 1825-1829.

Secretary of State, Henry Clay, Kentucky, March 7th, 1825. *Secretary of Treasury*, Richard Rush, Pennsylvania, March 7th, 1825.

Secretary of War, James Barbour, Virginia, March 7th, 1825; Peter B. Porter, New York, May 26th, 1828. *Secretary of Navy*, S. L. Southard, continued. *Attorney-General*, William Wirt, continued. *Postmaster-General*, John McLean, continued.

ANDREW JACKSON (XI. AND XII.), 1829-1837.

Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren, New York, March 6th, 1829; Edward Livingston, Louisiana, May 24th, 1831; Louis McLane, Delaware, May 29th, 1833; John Forsyth, Georgia, June 27th, 1834. *Secretary of Treasury*, Samuel D. Ingham, Pennsylvania, March 6th, 1829; Louis McLane, Delaware, August 8th, 1831; William J. Duane, Pennsylvania, May 29th, 1833; Roger B. Taney, Maryland, September 23d, 1833; Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire, June 27th, 1834. *Secretary of War*, John H. Eaton, Tennessee, March 9th, 1829; Lewis Cass, Michigan, August 1st, 1831; Benjamin F. Butler, New York, March 3d, 1837. *Secretary of Navy*, John Branch, North Carolina, March 9th, 1829; Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire, May 23d, 1831; Mahlon Dickerson, New Jersey, June 30th, 1834. *Attorney-General*, John M. Berrien, Georgia, March 9th, 1839; Roger B. Taney, Maryland, July 20th, 1831; Benjamin F. Butler, New York, November 15th, 1833. *Postmaster-General*, William T. Barry, Kentucky, March 9th, 1829; Amos Kendall, Kentucky, May 1st, 1835.

MARTIN VAN BUREN (XIII.), 1837-1841.

Secretary of State, John Forsyth, continued. *Secretary of Treasury*, Levi Woodbury, continued. *Secretary of War*, Joel R. Poinsett, South Carolina, March 7th, 1837. *Secretary of Navy*, Mahlon Dickerson, continued; James K. Paulding, New York, June 25th, 1838. *Attorney-General*, Benjamin F. Butler, continued; Felix Grundy, Tennessee, July 5th, 1838; Henry D. Gilpin, Pennsylvania, January 11th, 1840. *Postmaster-General*, Amos Kendall, continued; John M. Niles, Connecticut, May 19th, 1840.

WM. H. HARRISON, (XIV.), 1841-1845.

Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, Massachusetts, March 5th, 1841; Hugh S. Legaré, South Carolina, May 9th, 1843; A. P. Upshur, Virginia, July 24th, 1843; John C. Calhoun, South Carolina, March 6th, 1844. *Secretary of Treasury*, Thomas Ewing, Ohio, March 5th, 1841; Walter Forward, Pennsylvania, September 13th, 1841; John C. Spencer, New York, March 3d, 1843; George M. Bibb, Kentucky, June 15th, 1844. *Secretary of War*, John Bell, Tennessee, March 5th, 1841; John McLean, Ohio, September 13th, 1841; John C. Spencer, New York, October 12th, 1841; James M.

Porter, Pennsylvania, March 8th, 1843; William Wilkins, Pennsylvania, February 15th, 1844. *Secretary of Navy*, G. E. Badger, North Carolina, March 5th, 1841; A. P. Upshur, Virginia, September 13th, 1841; David Henshaw, Massachusetts, July 24th, 1843; T. W. Gilmer, Virginia, February 15th, 1844; John Y. Mason, Virginia, March 14th, 1844. *Attorney-General*, John J. Crittenden, Kentucky, March 5th, 1841; Hugh S. Legaré, South Carolina, September 13th, 1841; John Nelson, Maryland, July 1st, 1843. *Postmaster-General*, Francis Granger, New York, March 6th, 1841; Charles A. Wickliffe, Kentucky, September 13th, 1841.

JAMES K. POLK (XV.), 1845-1849.

Secretary of State, James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, March 6th, 1845. *Secretary of Treasury*, Robert J. Walker, Mississippi, March 6th, 1845. *Secretary of War*, William L. Marcy, New York, March 6th, 1845. *Secretary of Navy*, George Bancroft, Massachusetts, March 10th, 1845; John Y. Mason, Virginia, September 9th, 1846. *Attorney-General*, John Y. Mason, Virginia, March 5th, 1845; Nathan Clifford, Maine, October 17th, 1846. *Postmaster-General*, Cave Johnson, Tennessee, March 6th, 1845.

ZACHARY TAYLOR (XVI.), 1849-1853.

Secretary of State, John M. Clayton, Delaware, March 7th, 1849; Daniel Webster, Massachusetts, July 22d, 1850; Edward Everett, Massachusetts, December 6th, 1852. *Secretary of Treasury*, W. M. Meredith, Pennsylvania, March 8th, 1849; Thomas Corwin, Ohio, July 23d, 1850. *Secretary of State*, George W. Crawford, Georgia, March 8th, 1849; Winfield Scott (*ad interim*), July 23d, 1850; Charles M. Conrad, Louisiana, August 15th, 1850. *Secretary of Navy*, William B. Preston, Virginia, March 8th, 1849; William A. Graham, North Carolina, July 22d, 1850; J. P. Kennedy, Maryland, July 22d, 1852. *Secretary of Interior*,¹ Thomas H. Ewing, Ohio, March 8th, 1849; A. H. H. Stuart, Virginia, September 12th, 1850. *Attorney-General*, Reverdy Johnson, Maryland, March 8th, 1849; John J. Crittenden, Kentucky, July 22d, 1850. *Postmaster-General*, Jacob Collamer, Vermont, March 8th, 1849; Nathan K. Hall, New York, July 23d, 1850; S. D. Hubbard, Connecticut, August 31st, 1852.

FRANKLIN PIERCE (XVII.), 1853-1857.

Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, New York, March 7th, 1853; *Secretary of Treasury*, James Guthrie, Kentucky, March 7th, 1853; *Secretary of War*, Jefferson Davis, Mississippi, March 7th,

¹ Organized by Act of March 3d, 1849.

1853. *Secretary of Navy*, James C. Dobbin, North Carolina, March 7th, 1853. *Secretary of Interior*, Robert McClelland, Michigan, March 7th, 1853. *Attorney-General*, Caleb Cushing, Massachusetts, March 7th, 1853. *Postmaster-General*, James Campbell, Pennsylvania, March 7th, 1853.

JAMES BUCHANAN (XVIII.), 1857-1861.

Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, Michigan, March 6th, 1857; J. S. Black, Pennsylvania, December 17th, 1860. *Secretary of Treasury*, Howell Cobb, Georgia, March 6th, 1857; Philip F. Thomas, Maryland, December 12th, 1860; John A. Dix, New York, January 11th, 1861. *Secretary of War*, John B. Floyd, Virginia, March 6th, 1857; Joseph Holt, Kentucky, January 18th, 1861. *Secretary of Navy*, Isaac Toucey, Connecticut, March 6th, 1857. *Secretary of Interior*, Jacob Thompson, Mississippi, March 6th, 1857. *Attorney-General*, J. S. Black, Pennsylvania, March 6th, 1857; E. M. Stanton, Pennsylvania, December 20th, 1860. *Postmaster-General*, Aaron V. Brown, Tennessee, March 6th, 1857; Joseph Holt, Kentucky, March 14th, 1859; Horatio King, Maine, February 12th, 1861.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN }
ANDREW JOHNSON } (XIX. AND XX.), 1861-1869.

Secretary of State, William H. Seward, New York, March 5th, 1861. *Secretary of Treasury*, S. P. Chase, Ohio, March 5th, 1861; W. P. Fessenden, Maine, July 1st, 1864; Hugh McCulloch, Indiana, March 7th, 1865. *Secretary of War*, Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, March 5th, 1861; Edwin M. Stanton, Pennsylvania, January 15th, 1862; U. S. Grant (*ad interim*),¹ August 12th, 1867; Edwin M. Stanton (reinstated), January 14th, 1868; J. M. Scofield, Illinois, May 28th, 1868. *Secretary of Navy*, Gideon Welles, Connecticut, March 5th, 1861. *Secretary of Interior*, Caleb P. Smith, March 5th, 1861; John P. Usher, Indiana, January 8th, 1863; James Harlan, Iowa, May 15th, 1865; O. H. Browning, Illinois, July 27th, 1866. *Attorney-General*, Edward Bates, Missouri, March 5th, 1861; Titian J. Coffey (*ad interim*), June 22d, 1863; James Speed, Kentucky, December 2d, 1864; Henry Stanbery, Ohio, July 23d, 1866; William M. Evarts, New York, July 15th, 1868. *Postmaster-General*, Montgomery Blair, Maryland, March 5th, 1861; William Dennison, Ohio, September 24th, 1864; Alexander W. Randall, Wisconsin, July 25th, 1866.

ULYSSES S. GRANT (XXI. AND XXII.), 1869-1877.

Secretary of State, E. B. Washburne, Illinois, March 5th, 1869; Hamilton Fish, New York, March 11th, 1869. *Secretary of Treas-*

¹ See p. 216.

ury, George S. Boutwell, Massachusetts, March 11th, 1869; William A. Richardson, Massachusetts, March 17th, 1873; Benjamin H. Bristow, Kentucky, June 2d, 1874; Lot M. Morrill, Maine, June 21st, 1876. *Secretary of War*, John A. Rawlins, Illinois, March 11th, 1869; William T. Sherman, Ohio, September 9th, 1869; William W. Belknap, Iowa, October 25th, 1869; Alphonso Taft, Ohio, March 8th, 1876; J. D. Cameron, Pennsylvania, May 22d, 1876. *Secretary of Navy*, Adolph E. Borie, Pennsylvania, March 5th, 1869; George M. Robeson, New Jersey, June 25th, 1869. *Secretary of Interior*, John D. Cox, Ohio, March 5th, 1869; Columbus Delano, Ohio, November 1st, 1870; Zachariah Chandler, Michigan, October 19th, 1875. *Attorney-General*, E. R. Hoar, Massachusetts, March 5th, 1869; Amos T. Akerman, Georgia, June 23d, 1870; George H. Williams, Oregon, December 14th, 1871; Edwards Pierpont, New York, April 26th, 1875; Alphonso Taft, Ohio, May 22d, 1876. *Postmaster-General*, J. A. J. Creswell, Maryland, March 5th, 1869; Marshall Jewell, Connecticut, August 24th, 1874; James M. Tyner, Indiana, July 12th, 1876.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (XXIII.), 1877-1881.

Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, New York, March 12th, 1877. *Secretary of Treasury*, John Sherman, Ohio, March 8th, 1877. *Secretary of War*, George W. McCrary, Iowa, March 12th, 1877; Alexander Ramsey, Minnesota, December 12th, 1879. *Secretary of Navy*, Richard W. Thompson, Indiana, March 12th, 1877; Nathan Goff, Jr., West Virginia, January 6th, 1881. *Secretary of Interior*, Carl Schurz, Missouri, March 12th, 1877. *Attorney-General*, Charles Devens, Massachusetts, March 12th, 1877. *Postmaster-General*, David M. Key, Tennessee, March 12th, 1877; Horace Maynard, Tennessee, August 25th, 1880.

JAMES A. GARFIELD } (XXIV.), 1881-1885.
CHESTER A. ARTHUR }

Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, Maine, March 5th, 1881; Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey, December 12th, 1881. *Secretary of Treasury*, William H. Windom, Minnesota, March 5th, 1881; Charles J. Folger, New York, October 27th, 1881. *Secretary of War*, Robert T. Lincoln, Illinois, March 5th, 1881. *Secretary of Navy*, W. H. Hunt, Louisiana, March 5th, 1881; Wm. E. Chandler, New Hampshire, April 12th, 1882. *Secretary of Interior*, S. J. Kirkwood, Iowa, March 5th, 1881; Henry M. Teller, Colorado, April 6th, 1882. *Attorney-General*, Wayne MacVeagh, Pennsylvania, March 5th, 1881; Benjamin H. Brewster, Pennsylvania, December 16th, 1881. *Postmaster-General*, Thomas L. James, New York, March 5th, 1881; Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin, December 20th, 1881; W. Q. Gresham, Indiana, April 3d, 1883; Frank Hatton, Iowa, October 14th, 1884.

GROVER CLEVELAND (XXV.), 1885-1889.

Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard, Delaware, March 6th, 1885. *Secretary of Treasury*, Daniel Manning, New York, March 6th, 1885; Charles S. Fairchild, New York, April 1st, 1887. *Secretary of War*, William C. Endicott, Massachusetts, March 6th, 1885. *Secretary of Navy*, William C. Whitney, New York, March 6th, 1885. *Secretary of Interior*, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, Mississippi, March 6th, 1885; William F. Vilas, Wisconsin, January 16th, 1888. *Attorney-General*, Augustus H. Garland, Arkansas, March 6th, 1885. *Postmaster-General*, William F. Vilas, Wisconsin, March 6th, 1885; Don M. Dickinson, Michigan, January 16th, 1888.

• BENJAMIN HARRISON (XXVI.), 1889-1893.

Secretary of State,¹ James G. Blaine, Maine, March 7th, 1889; John W. Foster, Indiana, June 29th, 1892. *Secretary of Treasury*, William Windom, Minnesota, March 7th, 1889; Charles Foster, Ohio, February 25th, 1891. *Secretary of War*, Redfield Proctor, Vermont, March 7th, 1889; Stephen B. Elkins, West Virginia, December 24th, 1891. *Attorney-General*, W. H. H. Miller, Indiana, March 7th, 1889. *Postmaster-General*, John Wanamaker, Pennsylvania, March 7th, 1889. *Secretary of Navy*, Benj. F. Tracy, New York, March 7th, 1889. *Secretary of Interior*, John W. Noble, Missouri, March 7th, 1889. *Secretary of Agriculture*, Jere. M. Rusk, Wisconsin, March 7th, 1889.

GROVER CLEVELAND (XXVII.), 1893-1897.

Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham, Illinois, March 7th, 1893; Richard Olney, Massachusetts, June 10th, 1895. *Secretary of Treasury*, John G. Carlisle, Kentucky, March 7th, 1893. *Secretary of War*, Daniel S. Lamont, New York, March 7th, 1893. *Attorney-General*, Richard Olney, Massachusetts, March 7th, 1893; Judson Harmon, Ohio, June 11th, 1895. *Postmaster-General*, Wilson S. Bissell, New York, March 7th, 1893; William L. Wilson, West Virginia, April 3d, 1895. *Secretary of Navy*, Hilary A. Herbert, Alabama, March 7th, 1893. *Secretary of Interior*, Hoke Smith, Georgia, March 7th, 1893; David R. Francis, Missouri, September 3d, 1896. *Secretary of Agriculture*, Julius Sterling Morton, Nebraska, March 7th, 1893.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY (XXVIII.), 1897

Secretary of State, John Sherman, Ohio, March 6th, 1897; William R. Day, Ohio, April 26th, 1898; John Hay, Ohio, September

¹ The Cabinet is here arranged in the order of succession for the Presidency according to Act of XLIXth Congress, which does not, however, include the Secretary of Agriculture.

30th, 1898. *Secretary of Treasury*, Lyman J. Gage, Illinois, March 6th, 1897. *Secretary of War*, Russell A. Alger, Michigan, March 6th, 1897; Elihu Root, New York, July 22d, 1899. *Attorney-General*, Joseph McKenna, California, March 6th, 1897; John W. Griggs, New Jersey, January 31st, 1898; Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania, April 5th, 1901. *Postmaster-General*, James A. Gary, Maryland, March 6th, 1897; Charles Emory Smith, Pennsylvania, April 21st, 1898. *Secretary of Navy*, John D. Long, Massachusetts, March 6th, 1897. *Secretary of Interior*, Cornelius N. Bliss, New York, March 6th, 1897; Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Missouri, December 21st, 1898; *Secretary of Agriculture*, James Wilson, Iowa, March 6th, 1897.

APPENDIX XI

EXTRACTS FROM WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

SEPT. 17, 1796.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS : The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, it appears to me proper that I should now apprise you of the resolution which I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made. In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and of the plans by which they were effected. Here, perhaps, I ought to stop ; but solicitude for your welfare urges me to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which appear to me all-important to your felicity as a people.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to confirm the attachment. The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. While, then, every part of our country feels an interest in the Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find greater strength, greater resource, greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and an exemption from wars between themselves. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which are par-

ticularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as the main prop of your liberty.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion, and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them.

Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop. It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional errors, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest. Relying on its kindness, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 17th September, 1796.

[The above is but a small portion of this celebrated address, and has been abbreviated with the purpose of enabling the pupil to understand something of Washington's advice to him.]

PRONOUNCING INDEX

NOTE.—The references are to Sections, not to pages.

St. and *Fort* are considered parts of the reference name; *de* and *von* are not. Thus, look for *St. Louis* under the letter *S*; for *Fort Sumter* under *F*; for *de Grasse* under *G*; for *von Steuben* under *S*.

The pronunciation is indicated in all fairly doubtful cases, and the characters which indicate it have been made as few and simple as possible. Pronounce *ā* as in *mate*, *ē* as in *mete*, *ī* as in *mile*, *ō* as in *mote*, *ū* as in *mute*; *ā* as in *bag*, *ē* as in *beg*, *ī* as in *big*, *ō* as in *bog*, *ū* as in *bug*; *a* with the obscure sound of *a* in *idea*; *ah* as in *father*; *aw* as in *saw*; *ow* as in *cow*; *oo* as in *foot*; *ch* as in *chamber*; *g* always hard, as in *get*, *j* being used for the soft sound of *g*. Italic *e* is silent, but shows that the vowel preceding it in the same syllable is long. In French names, the capital letters *H* and *R* are to be pronounced more forcibly than we are accustomed to pronounce them in English. *An(g)* is the French nasal sound; it is uttered very much as spelled, except that it stops before the sound of *ng* is quite completed. Letters not mentioned here, or unmarked, are to be pronounced as they would be in an English word.

ABOLITIONISTS, their first appearance, 462; charged with instigating negro insurrection, 462; their use of the mails, 492; attacks on them, 493; their political action, 494, 515, 547; their increase in numbers, 556; their final success, 669, 757.

Acadia (*a-kā'di-a*), its settlement by de Monts, 19; conquest by the English, 71, 146.

Acquisitions of territory, 544; in square miles, 773.

Adams, C. F., nominated for Vice-President, 548.

Adams, John, a Massachusetts leader, 169; in the second Continental Congress, 192; connection with the Declaration of Independence, 206, 432; elected Vice-President, 287, 304; President, 311; his defeat in 1800, 323; his death, 432; his career, 439.

Adams, John Quincy, Secretary of State, 412; elected President, 427; connection with the American system, 434; defeated in 1828, 438; his career, 439; connection with the Abolitionists, 558.

Adams, Samuel, a Massachusetts leader, 169; in the second Continental Congress, 192.

Administration of Justice Act, 175.

Africa, early exploration in, 4, 12.

Agricultural machinery, its poor condition in 1790, 289; invention of the mowing and reaping machine, 338, 448; modern condition, 594.

Aguineldo (*āh-gwin-ah'l'do*), leader of the Philippine insurgents, 881; demands independence for Filipinos, 900.

Alabama (*al-a-bah'ma*) unsettled in 1812, 394; admission, 419; secession, 613; re-conquest, 727; readmission, 762.

Alabama Claims, the, their origin, 627, 672; their settlement, 776-7.

Alabama, the, escape of, 672; work of, 696; destroyed by the *Kearsarge*, 720; after-consequences, 776-7.

Alarçon (*ah-laR'sone*) discovers the Colorado, 16.

Alaska bought from Russia, 523, 773; Klondike gold-fields, 893.

Albany (*awl'ba-ni*), N. Y., early Dutch settlement, 110; called Fort Orange, 117; threatened by Burgoyne, 219; connected with Buffalo by the Erie Canal, 424.

Albany Plan of Union, the, rejected by both crown and colonies, 145.

Albemarle (*āl-bē-marl'*) Colony, the, a Virginian settlement in North Carolina, 93.

Albemarle Sound, N. C., limit of the Cabot voyage, 10.

Albemarle, the, sunk by a torpedo, 716.

Alert, the, captured by the *Essex*, 366.

Alger, Russell A., Secretary of War, 869; resigns, 898.

Algiers (*al-jeez'*), one of the Barbary States, 341; compelled to seize piracy, 404.

Algonquins (*al-gon'kwinz*), an Indian race, 3.

Alien Laws, the, their passage, 321.

Alleghany (*al'lē-gā-ni*) Mountains, the, their location, 116; serve as a western boundary to the English colonies, 135, 272; passed by emigration after 1790, 291.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Allen, Chas. H., governor of Porto Rico, 903.
 Allen, Ethan, captures Ticonderoga, 199.
 Allen, Capt. W. H., captured in the *Argus*, 372.
 Altamaha (al-ta-ma-haw') River, the, Oglethorpe's battle near, 106.
 Alton, Ill., riot at, 493.
 Ambrister (am'bris-ter), Robert C., executed by Jackson, 414.
 Amendments to the Constitution, how made, 284; object of the first ten Amendments, 286; adoption of the first ten Amendments, 297; adoption of the 12th Amendment, 295, 323; of the 13th Amendment, 757; of the 14th Amendment, 763; of the 15th Amendment, 789.
 America, origin of the name, 8.
 America, the, presented to France, 243.
 American Party, the, its origin, 572; its defeat and disappearance, 582.
 American System, the: Clay and Adams unite protective tariff and internal improvements under this title, 434; opposed by the South, 435; by Jackson, 470; adopted by the Whigs, 471; overthrown until 1861 (see Protection), 521.
 Anesthetics, their use in surgery, 517.
 Anarchists, 829.
 Anderson, Major Robert, in command at Fort Sumter, 617.
 Andersonville, Ga., prison, 725.
 André (an'drā), Major John, captured and executed as a spy, 238.
 Andros (an'dros), Sir Edmund, his proceedings at Hartford, 61; object of his appointment as governor of New England, 70; his removal, 70; appointed governor of Virginia, 70.
 Anglo-American alliance, 887.
 Anglo-American commission, 887.
 Anglo-American league, 887.
 Annapolis (an-nap'ō-lis), Md., founded, 86; Washington surrenders his commission at, 264; first attempt to hold a Federal Convention at, 278; establishment of the Naval School at, 519.
 Annapolis, N. S., capture of, 72.
 Anne, Queen, 71.
 Anthracite coal discovered in Pennsylvania in 1791, 338, note; shipped to Philadelphia in 1806, 338; little used until 1830, 338, note; used on railroads and steamboats about 1835, 446; general use, 511.
 Antietam (an-te'tam), battle of, 666.
 Anti-Federal Party, the, its origin, 285; defeat and disappearance, 303.
 Anti-imperialists, 905.
 Anti-Masons, their origin, 472.
 Anti-Nebraska Men, the first name of the Republican Party of 1856, 576.
 Anti-renters, their purposes, 514.
 Antislavery Society, the, its origin, 462 (see Abolitionists).
 Anti-trust agitation, 891.
 Appomattox (ap-po-mat'tocks) River, the, Lee's line of retreat, 733; Court-house, Lee's surrender at, 733.
 Arabian, the, the first American locomotive, 443, note.
 Arbitration, the treaty, 867; proposals of the Hague conference ratified, 897.
 Arbuthnot (ar'būth-not), Alexander, executed by Jackson, 414.
 Argus, the, her successful cruise, 372; captured by the *Pelican*, 372.
 Arkansas (ar'kan-saw) admission, 454; secession, 626; re-conquest, 683; readmission, 762; disorders in, 790.
 Arkansas, the, captured by the Union fleet, 655.
 Army, the: formation of an American army, 191; difficulties in the way, 197; flag and uniform, 197; disbanded without just treatment, 264; government of the army, 281; command-in-chief, 282; a new army begun in 1798, 319; inefficiency of the army in 1812, 352; reorganization in 1813, 364; success of the army in 1814, 391; the army of the Southwest, 395; capture of the regular army in the South, 616; formation of a volunteer army, 629; support by Congress, 631; care of the army, 692; reinforcement of the, 693, 722; numbers of the army, 746; losses, 747; disbandment of the army, 752; formation of the volunteer army of 1868, 880.
 Arnold, Benedict, his march through Maine and retreat from Quebec, 200; beats the British back from Fort Schuyler, 220; his daring at Saratoga, 223; his treason, 238; ravages Virginia, 252; butchers the garrison at New London, 259.
 Arthur, Chester A., elected Vice-President, 817; succeeds to the presidency at Garfield's death, 818.
 Articles of Association put forth by the Continental Congress, 177.
 Articles of Confederation ratified by the States, 270; found to be worthless, 275; the impossibility of amending them, 277; succeeded by the Constitution, 287.
 Assemblies the real governing power of the colonies, 36, 130, 162; that of Virginia the first, 76; take sides against the Parliament, 162, 172; the people side with the assemblies, 172.
 Astor Library, 595.
 Atlanta, Ga., not on the map in 1830, 451; held by Johnston, 697, 706; captured by Sherman, 709; burned by Sherman, 712; holds a Cotton Exposition, 824.
 Atlanta, the, destroyed by the *Weehawken*, 688.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Atlantic telegraph, the, successfully laid, 772.
 Attorney-General, the office of, established, 298.
 Augusta (aw-gus'ta), Ga., founded, 104; captured by the British, 244.
 Austria, the Kosztá dispute with, 568.
 Ayron, the, taken by the *Wasp*, 374.
 Ayllon (ile-yonz'), 9.
 Azores (a-zorz') Islands, the, Gosnold's route by, 24; Reid's battle in, 376.
 BACON, NATHANIEL, his rebellion and death, 82.
 Bahama (ba-há'ma) Islands, the, discovered by Columbus, 6.
 Bainbridge (bane'brij), Capt. William, in command of the *Constitution*, 368.
 Baker, E. D., killed at Ball's Bluff, 634, note.
 Ballot reform, 833.
 Ball's Bluff, battle of, 634.
 Baltimore (bawl'tl-more), Lord, founder of Maryland, 85.
 Baltimore, Md., founded, 86; seat of Congress in 1776, 211; beats off the British, 387; riot in, 623.
 Bancroft, George, the historian, 458.
 Bank of the United States, first one chartered, 300; charter expires, 408; second chartered, 408; Jackson attacks it, 468; vetoes the renewal of the charter, 469; charter expires, 469; the Whigs support the bank, 471; attempt to charter a third, 501.
 Banks, wildcat, 484.
 Banks, Gen. Nathaniel P., beaten by Jackson, 662; in command in Louisiana, 679; fails in his Red River expedition, 715.
 Barbadoes (bar-bá'doz), colonists from Barbadoes in Carolina, 93.
 Barbary States, the, professional pirates, 341; beaten into peace by the American navy, 342; brought to terms, 404.
 Barclay, Capt. R. H., commands the British fleet on Lake Erie, 381.
 Baton Rouge (bat'n roozh), La., 655.
 Baum (bowm), Lieut.-Col., commands the British at Bennington, 220.
 Beaugerard (bo-re-gard'), Gen. P. G. T., commands at Manassas Junction, 632; at Corinth, 643.
 Beef scandal, the, 899.
 Behaim's globe, 4, note.
 Bell, John, nominated for the presidency, 608.
 Bemis Heights, battle of, 222.
 Bennington, battle of, 220.
 Bering Sea seal fisheries, 848.
 Berkeley (berk'li), Gov. William, suppresses Bacon's rebellion, 82.
 Berkeley, Lord John, one of the proprietors of New Jersey, 118.
 Berlin Decree of Napoleon, 343.
 Berlin treaty, the, regarding Samoa, 804.
 Bidwell, John, nominated for President, 854.
 Big Bethel, skirmish of, 629, note.
 Big Horn River, Indian battle at, 785.
 Biloxi (be-loks'ti), Miss., settled, 138.
 Bimetallism, the paramount issue in the election of 1896, 865; failure of international commission, 872; in 1900, 906.
 Black Hawk, his war against the whites, 463.
 Bladensburg (blá'dnz-burg), battle of, 386.
 Blaine, James Gillespie, nominated for President, 826; defeated, 826.
 Blair, Francis P., nominated for Vice-President, but defeated, 768.
 Blakely (blake'll), Capt. J., in command of the *Wasp*, 374.
 Blanco (blah'n-co), Ramon (rah'mon), in Cuba, 874.
 Bland-Allison Act, the, 812.
 Blockade (of 1813), 371, 383; (of 1861), 625, 650; of Cuba, 882.
 Bonaparte, Napoleon, makes peace with the United States, 320; sells Louisiana to the United States, 334; forbids American commerce with Europe, 343; fraudulently arrays the United States against Great Britain, 349; is sent to Elba, 397.
 Bonds, 161, 814, 825, 857, 886.
 Bonhomme Richard (bo-nom're-sha'R'), the, captures the *Serapis*, 222.
 Boone, Daniel, settles in Kentucky, 157, note.
 Booth, John Wilkes, the murderer of President Lincoln, 737.
 Border States, the, their course of action, 626.
 Boston, Mass., founded, 49; rebellious proceedings in, 171, 174; the attempt to punish them, 175; siege of, 183; evacuation of, 198; population in 1790, 288; great fire in, 784.
 Boston Massacre, the, 171.
 Boston Port Act, the, 175.
 Boston Tea-party, the, 174.
 Boundaries, colonial and State, western boundary at first supposed to be the Pacific Ocean, 135; after 1763 the Mississippi, 271; really the Alleghanies, 272; western boundaries fixed, 273.
 Boundaries, United States, in 1783, 263; the northeast boundary, 497; the northern boundary, 503; the northwest boundary, 504, 523, 777; the southwest boundary, 524; changes produced by the Mexican war, 528, 544 (see Acquisitions of Territory).
 Bowling (bole'ing) Green, Ky., occupied by the Confederates, 639.
 Boxer, the, captured by the *Enterprise*, 370.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Braddock, General William, defeated and killed near Fort Duquesne, 146.
 Bradford, William, a Massachusetts leader, 47.
 Bragg, Gen. Braxton, his raid into Kentucky, 644; fights a battle at Murfreesboro, 645; evacuates Chattanooga, 685; fights at Chickamauga, 685; besieges Chattanooga, 686; beaten back to Dalton by Grant, and removed, 687.
 Brandywine Creek, battle on, 216.
 Brant, Joseph, an Indian chief in the British service, 232.
 Brazil (bra-zeel'), 720.
 Breckinridge, John C., elected Vice-President, 582; defeated for the presidency, 608.
 Breed's Hill, battle on, 194.
 Breton (bret'n), Cape, discovered by Cabot, 10; occupied by the French, 72; by the English, 148, 154.
 Breyma (bra'man), Col., in command of the British in the second fight at Bennington, 220.
 Briar Creek, Ga., skirmish at, 245.
 Bridges, early lack of, 133, 290; modern suspension, 566.
 Bridgewater, battle of, 392.
 Bristol, R. I., destroyed by the British, 203.
 Brock, Gen. Isaac, captures Detroit and the American garrison, 356.
 Broke, Capt. P. V., in command of the *Shannon*, 372.
 Brooke, Gen. John R., Governor-General of Cuba, 902; of Porto Rico, 903; succeeded by Gen. Henry, 903.
 Brooklyn, N. Y., a ferry station, 117; captured by the British, 209.
 Brooks, John A., nominated for Vice-President, 840, note.
 Brooks, P. S., assaults Sumner, 581.
 Brown, B. Gratz, 796.
 Brown, Gen. Jacob, at Sackett's Harbor, 362, note; reorganizes the army, 364; at Chippewa, 392; wounded, 392; returns to command, 393.
 Brown, John, his raid on Harper's Ferry and execution, 604.
 Brownsville, Tex., captured by Taylor, 524.
 Brown University, foundation of, 187.
 Bryan, Wm. J., nominated for President and defeated, 865; renominated, 906.
 Bryant Park, N. Y., 564.
 Bryant, William Cullen, 457.
 Buccaneers in New York, 114.
 Buchanan (būk-an'an), James, elected President, 582.
 Buchanan, Franklin, in command of the *Merrimac* and *Tennessee*, 718.
 Buckner, Gen. S. B., nominated for Vice-President, 865.
 Buel (bū'el), Gen. Don Carlos, in command in Kentucky, 639; reinforces Grant, 642; fights a battle at Perryville, 644.

Buena Vista (bwā'nah vees'tah), battle of, 532-3.
 Buffalo, N. Y., not on the map in 1812, 354; benefited by the War of 1812, 405; by the Erie Canal, 424.
 Bull Run, battle of, 632.
 Bull Run, second battle of, 664.
 Bunker Hill, battle of, 194-6.
 Burgoyne (bur-goin'), Gen. John, arrives at Boston, 194; organizes an army in Canada for the invasion of New York, 218; surrenders to Gates at Saratoga, 222.
 Burke, Edmund, champions the cause of the colonies, 202.
 Burlington, N. J., settlement of, 119.
 Burnside, Gen. Ambrose E., in command of the Army of the Potomac, 666; defeated at Fredericksburgh, 667; in command at Knoxville, 686.
 Burr, Aaron, elected Vice-President, 323; shoots Hamilton, 332; not re-elected Vice-President, 339; his Mississippi expedition, 340.
 Burrows, Lieut. W., in command of the *Enterprise*, 370.
 Butler, Gen. Benj. F., in command at Hatteras Inlet, 636; at New Orleans, 654; removed, 679; sent to attack Petersburg, 700; "bottled up," 703; his Fort Fisher expedition, 716; his treatment of runaway slaves, 754, note; nominated for President, but defeated, 826, note.
 Butler, John, a Tory leader, 322.
 Butler, Wm. Orlando, nominated for Vice-President, 548.
 CABAL, the Conway, 223.
 Cabinet, the, meaning of the term, 206.
 Cabots (kab'ots), the, their discoveries, 10.
 Cabrillo (kah-breel'yo), a Spanish explorer, 15.
 Cairo (kī'ro), Ill., occupied by Grant, 639.
 Calhoun (kāl-hoon'), John C., Secretary of War, 412; elected Vice-President, 427; re-elected, 438; not re-elected Vice-President, 473; his doctrine of nullification, 476; his death, 558.
 California, early explorations in, 13; belongs to Mexico, 528; seized by the American forces, 529; transferred to the United States, 543; discovery of gold in, 549; disorders in, 553; difficulties of admission, 553; admission as a State, 555.
 Calvert, Cecil (sis'il kol'vert), receives a patent for the colony of Maryland, 85.
 Calvert, Sir George, plans a colony in America, 85.
 Calvert, Leonard, leads the settlement of Maryland, 86.
 Cambridge, Mass., settlement of, 49; Harvard College founded at, 75;

The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Cambridge—Continued.
headquarters of the American army, 197.
- Camden, battle of, 249.
- Canada, settled by the French, 19, 30; early explorations by the French, 136; conquered by the British, 152; transferred to Great Britain, 154; attacked by the American forces, 199; the Americans are driven out of it, 200; receives the Tories at the close of the Revolution, 266; unsuccessful invasions of Canada by the American forces, 357, 362-3; battles in, 392-3; Patriot War, 496; Confederate agents in, 724; Fenian attack on, 771; fisheries dispute with, 777, 834.
- Canals, in New England, 312; national provision for, 422, 434; the Erie canal, 424; further canal construction by the States, 453, 489; the Panama canal, 834; the Nicaragua canal, 895-6, 906.
- Canary Islands, the, 6.
- Caney (kā-nāy'), 882.
- Canonicus (ka-nom'ī-kus), an Indian chief, 62.
- Cape Verde Islands, the, 882.
- Capital of the United States, at Philadelphia, 299; at Washington, 324.
- Carolina becomes a royal colony, 35; named for Charles IX. of France and Charles II. of England, 90.
- "Carpet-bagger," meaning of the term, 789, note.
- Carteret (kar-ter-et'), Sir George, one of the proprietors of New Jersey, 118.
- Cartier, Jacques (zhak kaR't-yā), discovers the St. Lawrence, 11; makes an unsuccessful settlement at Quebec, 18.
- Cass, Lewis, nominated for President, but defeated, 548.
- Castine (kas-teen'), Me., capture of an American fleet at, 243.
- Catholics, Roman, formation of a colony for, 85; ill-treatment of the Roman Catholics in Maryland, 88.
- Cavaliers, a name applied to the king's friends, 41.
- Cavite (ka-vē-tā'), 881.
- Cayugas (ka-yoo'gāz), an Indian tribe of New York, 3.
- Cebu (sā-boo'), 900.
- Cedar Creek, battle of, 705.
- Cemeteries, National, 747.
- Census, (first, 1790,) 313; (second, 1800,) 324; (third, 1810,) 353; (fourth, 1820,) 421; (fifth, 1830,) 452; (sixth, 1840,) 490; (seventh, 1850,) 561; (eighth, 1860,) 588; (ninth, 1870,) 782; (tenth, 1880,) 804, note; (eleventh, 1890,) 847.
- Centennial anniversary of American independence, 787.
- Central Pacific Railway, 890.
- Central Park, opening of, 595.
- Cerro Gordo (seR'Ro goR'do), battle of, 536.
- Cervera (thār-vū'rā), Admiral, 882.
- Chad's Ford, battle of, 216.
- Champlain, Lake, discovery of, 136; importance of, 378; battle of, 382.
- Champlain (sham-planr), Samuel de, a French explorer, 19; discovers Lake Champlain, 136.
- Chancellorsville, battle of, 674.
- Chapultepec (chah-pool'to-pek'), battle of, 541.
- Charles I., King, 40, 41.
- Charles II., King, 42.
- Charleston, Mass., settlement of, 48; destruction of the town by the British, 196.
- Charleston, S. C., settlement of, 97; attacked by the Spaniards, 101; by the British, 203; captured by the British, 247; retained by the British until the close of the Revolutionary War, 254, 263; evacuated by the British, 264; importance in 1790, 288; nullification as applied to Charleston harbor, 476-7; decay of its commerce, 596; United States forces in Charleston harbor, 617; importance of Charleston to the Confederates, 652; evacuated by the Confederates, 728-9.
- Charlottesville, Va., occupied by Sheridan, 731.
- Charters given by the king to the colonies, 35.
- Charter Oak, 61.
- Chase, Salmon P., a Republican Senator, 558.
- Chasseur (shās-sūr'), the, an American privateer, 376.
- Chattahoochee (chat - ta - hoo'chee) River, the, crossed by Johnston and Sherman, 706.
- Chattanooga (chat-ta-noo'ga), Tenn., importance of, 685; evacuated by the Confederates, 685; besieged by the Confederates, 686-7.
- Chauncey (chan'sl), Commodore Isaac, in command on Lake Ontario, 380.
- Cherbourg (share-booR'g), sea-battle off, 720.
- Cherokees (cher'o-keez), an Indian tribe, 3; difficulties with the State of Georgia, 431; removal, 463.
- Cherry Valley, N. Y., destroyed by Tories and Indians, 232.
- Cherub, the, aids in capturing the Essex, 373.
- Chesapeake (ches'a-peek) Bay, entered by Captain Newport, 31; importance to commerce, 89; used by Howe as a road to Philadelphia, 215; by Washington as a road to Yorktown, 257; arrival of the French fleet in, 258; used by the British as a naval station, 383.
- Chesapeake, the, insulted by a British war-vessel, 344; captured by the Shannon, 372.
- Chester, Pa., settlement of, 123.
- Chicago (shī-kaw'go), Ill., sudden rise

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Chicago—*Continued.*
 of the place, 449; not on the maps in 1830, 451, 589; great fire in, 784; railroad riots in, 806; anarchist riots, 829; World's Fair, 845; railroad strike, 858; trust conference, 891.
 Chickahominy (chik-a-hom'in-I) River, the, its interference with McClellan's plan of campaign, 659-60.
 Chickamauga (chik-a-maw'ga), battle of, 685; rendezvous in war with Spain, 880.
 Chickasaws (chik'a-sawz), Indian tribe, 3.
 Chihuahua (chê-wah'wah), Mex., occupied by Doniphan, 539, 531.
 Chillicothe (chill-ll-koth'e), O., 314.
 Chinese immigration, 815, 829, 851.
 Chippewa (chip'pe-waw'), battle of, 392.
 Choctaws (chok'tawz), an Indian tribe, 3.
 Chouteau, Pierre (pe-are' shoo-tô'), his long life in St. Louis, 155, note.
 Christina (kris-tee'na), Swedish settlement at, 29.
 Chrysler's (kris'ler's) Farm, battle of, 363.
 Church, Benjamin, a Plymouth soldier, 69.
 Churubusco (choo-roo-boos'ko), battle of, 539.
 Cincinnati (sin-sin-nah'tl), O., settlement of, 292; first newspaper in, 314; riots in, 823.
 Cities in 1790, 288; in 1830, 450; in 1860, 595.
 Civil Service, the, Jackson's degradation of it, 467; Civil Service law passed, 467; condition under Garfield, 819; under Cleveland, 864; under McKinley, 892, 906.
 Clarendon Colony, the, comes from Barbadoes to North Carolina, 93; removes to South Carolina, 97.
 Clarke, Gen. George Rogers, conquers Illinois for Virginia, 335.
 Clay, Henry, leader of the House, 412; aids the Missouri Compromise, 418; nominated for President in 1824, but defeated, 427; a leading supporter of the "American System," 434; his rank as an orator, 459; in politics, 471; nominated for President in 1832, but defeated, 473; nominated for President in 1844, but defeated, 515; aids the Compromise of 1850, 554; death, 558.
 Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the, 896.
 Clearing-house, the, 565.
 Clermont, the, 337.
 Cleveland, Grover, nominated and elected President, 826, 828; his first annual message, 837; renominated and defeated, 840; re-elected, 854; Venezuelan message, 861; extends the merit system, 864; negotiates the arbitration treaty, 867.
 Cleveland, O., settlement, 314.
 Clinton, Gen. Sir Henry, lands at Boston, 194; fails to relieve Burgoyne, 222; succeeds Howe at Philadelphia, 228; retreats to New York City, fighting at Monmouth Court-house, 228; captures Charleston, 247; returns to New York City, 248; orders Cornwallis to Yorktown, 255; is outgeneralled by Washington, 257; orders the attack on New London, 259.
 Clinton, DeWitt, nominated for President, but defeated, 351; pushes through the construction of the Erie Canal, 424.
 Clinton, George, elected Vice-President, 339; re-elected, 346.
 Coal. See Anthracite.
 Coast Survey, 455.
 Cockburn (kô'burn), Admiral, plunders the Atlantic coast, 388.
 Cold Harbor, battle of, 702, 706.
 Colfax, Schuyler, elected Vice-President, 768.
 Colleges, the first six, 158, note; the next three, 187; in 1830, 455; in 1860, 593.
 Collins, Capt. N. B., in command of the *Wachusett*, 720.
 Colonization, 26.
 Colorado, discovery of gold in, 590; admission, 786.
 "Color line," 764.
 Columbia College, 158.
 Columbia River, discovered by an American vessel, 335; claimed as a southwest boundary for British America, 523.
 Columbia, S. C., occupied by the Union forces and burned, 728.
Columbia, the, makes the first American voyage around the world, 312.
 Columbus, Christopher, his efforts to accomplish his great design, 5; his discovery of land across the Atlantic, 6; subsequent voyages and death, 8.
 Commerce, early commerce, 131; the attempt of Parliament to regulate by the Navigation Acts, 67; failure of the Navigation Acts, 163; commercial taxation by Parliament, 168; commercial resistance, 177 (see Revolution, American); commerce under the Confederation, 275; under the Constitution, 281; English interferences with American commerce, 309, 343; increase of American commerce, 312, 333; French interferences with American commerce, 318; the Barbary States' interferences with American commerce, 341; the embargo policy of prohibiting commerce, 345; its failure, 349; war against Great Britain, 351; decay of commerce in 1815, and immediate revival, 406; French injuries paid for, 404; commerce in 1860, 588; injury to com-

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Commerce—Continued.

merce by Confederate privateering, 672, 696, 720; revival of commerce, 780; interstate, 832.

Commission, Electoral, 800-2.

Commission, Interstate Commerce, 832.

Commission, Tariff, 825.

Committees of Correspondence, 179.

Common schools. See Public schools.

"Common Sense," title of Paine's pamphlet in favor of independence, 204.

Commons, House of, claims taxing power in England, 40; in the colonies, 160 (see Parliament).

Commonwealth, the English, 41.

Compromises, the Missouri Compromise passed, 418; unsuccessful attempt to apply its principle to the Mexican acquisition, 545; results of the Compromise, 559; the Missouri Compromise repealed, 575-6; the repeal sustained by the Supreme Court, 599-600; the tariff compromise of 1833, 478; the Compromise of 1850, 555.

Concessions, the, the charter of New Jersey, 120.

Concord (kong'kurd), Mass., 180-1.

Confederate States, the, organized in 1861, 614; declares war against the United States, 625; enlarged by new secessions, 628; its difficulties, 637; progress of the war, 740-5; distress within the Confederacy, 668, 690, 719, 721; downfall of the Confederacy, 733; its armed forces, 746; loss in men, 747; in money, 748.

Confederation, The. See Articles of Confederation.

Confirmation by the Senate, 282.

Congress of the United States, powers, 281-3; first meets and counts the electoral votes, 294; organizes the government by legislation, 297; proposes twelve Amendments, 297; character of the laws passed, 298; charters the first Bank of the United States, 300; begins taxation by excise, 299, 307; attitude towards slavery, 301; authorizes hostilities against France, 319; passes the Alien and Sedition laws, 321; comes under the control of the Republicans, 331; passes the Embargo Act (see Commerce), 345; passes the Non-Intercourse Act, 346; revives the Non-Intercourse Act against Great Britain, 349; declares war against Great Britain, 351; becomes more disposed to favor the navy, 369; charters the second Bank of the United States, 408; the two sections in Congress, 416, 435, 508; passes the Missouri Compromise, 418; receives Lafayette, 421; appropriates money for internal improvements, 422; begins

Congress—Continued.

the National Road, 423; adopts a policy of Protection, 426; carries it further, 434; divides surplus revenue among the States, 453; asserted influence of the Bank on Congress, 468; renews charter of the Bank, but is defeated by the veto, 469; Congress and Protection, 470, 474; passes Compromise Tariff of 1833, 490; special session of 1837, 478; passes Sub-Treasury law, 488; attempt to suppress antislavery petitions to Congress, 494; special session of 1841, 500; passes a third Bank charter, but is defeated by the veto, 501; quarrels with the President, 501; passes the Tariff of 1842, 501; passes the resolution annexing Texas, 516; abandons Protection and passes a revenue tariff, 521; declares war against Mexico, 527; discusses the Wilmot Proviso, 546; and the admission of California, 553; passes the Compromise of 1850, 554-5; new leaders appear in Congress, 558; Congress orders surveys for a Pacific Railroad, 562; repeals the Missouri Compromise by passing the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 574; the Republican party appears in Congress, 576; Congress discusses Kansas affairs, 580; its relations to the Supreme Court, 599; remains inactive through the secession winter, 618; special session of 1861 votes men and money for the war, 631; orders the issue of bonds and legal-tender paper money in 1862, 670; establishes a national banking system in 1863, 670; returns to the protective system, 691; orders a draft, 693; passes the 13th Amendment, 756; refuses to admit members from the seceding States, 758; is controlled by a two-thirds Republican majority, 759; adopts a plan of reconstruction, 760-1; readmits the reconstructed States, 762; passes the 14th Amendment, 763; quarrels with the President, 765; passes the Tenure of Office Act, 766; assists the Pacific Railroad, 783; passes the 15th Amendment, 789; investigates the Crédit Mobilier scandals, 794; asserts a right to decide disputes about electoral votes, 799; passes the Electoral Commission Act, 800; demonetizes silver, 811; remonetizes silver, 812; orders specie payments to be resumed, 813; engages in conflicts with the President, 816; passes the Civil Service Reform Act, 819; fails to suppress polygamy, 822; orders appointment of a Tariff Commission, 825; demonetizes silver, 856; passes the Wilson bill, 859; passes the Dingley bill, 870; declares war

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Congress—*Continued*.
 against Spain, 879; passes the War Revenue Act, 886; passes a joint resolution annexing Hawaii, 888; authorizes an appropriation for investigation of Nicaragua canal routes, 895; establishes a form of government for Porto Rico, 903; passes the Porto Rican Tariff Act, 904.
 Connecticut (kon-net't-kut), part of the Plymouth grant, 33; history, 57; its western claims, 271; they are transferred to the United States, 273.
 Constellation, the, captures *L'Insurgente*, 319.
 Constitution, the, chased by the British, 366; captures the *Guerriere*, 367; the *Java*, 368; the *Cyane* and *Levant*, 375.
 Constitution of the United States, its formation, 279; its terms, 280-4; its ratification, 286; its inauguration, 294 (see Amendments).
 "Continental," meaning of the term, 176, note 1, 233.
 Continental Congress, first meeting, 176-7; second meeting, 191-3; resists Parliament by force, 191; recommends the colonies to become States, 204; adopts the Declaration of Independence, 205; retires to Baltimore, 211; to Lancaster and York, 217; issues paper money, 233; begins to lose public respect, 234; has difficulties with the army, 239; fails to form a navy, 241; its work in the war, 269; gives way to the Confederation, 270 (see Articles of Confederation).
 Contract Labor Act, 829.
 Contreras (kon-trä'rahs), battle of, 539.
 Convention, Federal, 279.
 Cooper, J. Fenimore, his literary work, 457.
 Copley, John Singleton, a painter, particularly excellent in portraits, 187.
 Copper, in Connecticut and New Jersey, 511; discovery of the Lake Superior copper region, 512.
 Corinth (kor'inth), Miss., captured by Halleck, 643; defended by Grant, 646.
 Cornwallis (korn-wol'is), Lord, in command of the British in New Jersey, 210; beaten at Trenton and Princeton, 212; in command in South Carolina, 248; defeats Gates at Camden, 249; chases Greene across North Carolina, 251; fights a drawn battle at Guilford Courthouse, 253; retires to Wilmington, 253; moves north into Virginia, 255; caught at Yorktown by the French and Americans, 258; surrenders, 261; results of the surrender, 262; centennial anniversary of the surrender, 820.
 Coronado (ko-ro-nah'do), an early Spanish explorer, 16.
 Corpus Christi (kor'pus kris'ti), Tex., 524.
 Cortereal (kor-tä-rä-ahl'), a Portuguese sailor, 12.
 Cotton, John, a Massachusetts minister, 50.
 Cotton, little profit in its cultivation before 1793, 316; invention of the saw-gin by Whitney, 316; cotton in South Carolina, 99; cotton crop of 1860, 588; "King Cotton," 597; importance of the cotton supply during the Civil War, 671; effect of the blockade, 690; cotton under free labor, 824.
 Courts, Federal, 283, 298.
 Cowpens (kow'penz), battle of the, 251.
 Crawford, William H., Secretary of the Treasury, 412; nominated for President, but defeated, 427.
 Crédit Mobilier (krä'dë mo-bë'lë-ä), the construction company of the Pacific Railroad, 794.
 Creeks, an Indian tribe, 3; hostile to the United States, 394; make war, 395; overthrown by Jackson, 396; effects on settlement, 405.
 Criminals, their extradition, 502.
 Croghan (kro'hon), Lieut. George, his defence of Fort Stephenson, 360.
 Cromwell (krum'well), Oliver, Protector of England, 41.
 Croton Aqueduct, 450.
 Crown Point, N. Y., held by the French, 146; taken by the British, 150.
 Crystal Palace, the, 564.
 Cuba, attempts to obtain it from Spain, 570; the Ostend manifesto, 570; the *Virginus* affair, 779; the revolt, 863; relations with the United States grow acute, 873; refuses Spain's offer of autonomy, 874; proposed armistice, 878; military operations in, 882, 884; freed from Spanish sovereignty, 885; passes formally under the control of the United States, 902; internal changes and improvements, 902; the Cuban army disbanded, 902; promised independence by the Republican platform of 1900, 906.
 Cuban Junta, the, 876, 878.
 Cuban Relief Committee, the, 875.
 Cumberland Island, Ga., Cockburn's headquarters, 388.
 Cumberland, Md., 423.
 Cumberland, the, sunk by the *Merri-mac*, 650.
 Currency, Paper. See Paper Money.
 Currency reform, 889.
 Cushing (koosh'ing), Lieut. Wm. B., blows up the *Albatross*, 716.
 Custer, Gen. George A., killed by Indians, 785.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Cyane (sī'ane), the, captured by the Constitution, 375.
Cyclones, 821.

DADE's Massacre, 463.
Daiquiri (dāy-kē-rē'), 882.
Dallas, battle of, 706.
Dallas, George M., elected Vice-President, 515.
Dalton (daw'tun), Ga., held by Johnston, 697; taken by Sherman, 706.
Dana, Richard H., an early American poet, 457.
Danbury (dan'ber-ri), Conn., destroyed by the British, 214.
Daniel, Wm., nominated for Vice-President, 826, note.
Dare, Virginia, first child born of English parents in America, 23.
Darien (da-ri-en'), Ga., 104.
Dartmouth College founded, 187.
Davenport (dāv'en-port), John, a founder of New Haven, 60.
Davis, Gen. Geo. W., Governor-General of Porto Rico, 903.
Davis, Jefferson, a Southern leader, 558; President of the Confederate States, 614; removes Johnston, 708; is compelled to recall him, 728; captured by the United States, 732, note.
Dayton, Wm. L., nominated for Vice-President, 582.
Deane (deen), Silas, envoy to France, 224, note.
Dearborn (deer'burn), Gen. Henry, in command in northeastern New York, 357; fails in an invasion of Canada, 362.
Debt, imprisonment for, cruelty of the system, 288; its general abandonment, 461.
Debt of Great Britain, 265.
Debt of the United States, hopelessness of paying it under the Confederation, 275; provided for in 1790, 299; nearly paid off in 1809, 333; anxiety of the Republicans to pay it off, 344; increase on account of the War of 1812, 407; paid off in 1835, 453; Civil War debt put into bonds and paper money, 670; amount at the end of the war, 748; promptness in beginning to pay it off, 769; interest rate reduced by refunding, 814; the general reduction of the debt, 825, 857.
Decatur (de-kā'tur), Commodore Stephen, burns the *Philadelphia*, 342; in command of the *United States*, 368; forces the Barbary States to conclude peace without payment of tribute, 404.
Declaration of Independence, its adoption, 205; its terms, 206; its effect on France, 226; its authorship, 432; its hundredth anniversary, 787.
Delaware (del'a-ware), settled by the

Delaware—Continued.

Swedes, 29; taken by the Dutch, 29; taken by the English from the Dutch, 34; bought by Penn., 121; history, 128; its western boundary, 271; a "small" State, 279; freedom from secessionists, 626; trusts in, 891.
Delaware River, the, crossed by Washington, 210; obstructed by the Americans to defend Philadelphia, 215.
Democratic Party, the, known at first as the Republican Party (see Republican Party of 1792), 304, note; upholds state sovereignty, 328; often known as the Democratic Party after the War of 1812, 409; regularly called so after 1828, 437; supports Jackson, 438; defeated in 1840, 498; successful in 1844, 515; gets control of the government and puts an end to Protection, 521; defeated in 1848, 548; the only great party left entire by slavery, 560; successful in 1852, 563; how it was held together, 573; supports the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 574; part of its Northern members go into the Republican Party (see Republican Party of 1846), 576; successful in 1856, 582; Northern members refuse to support the Dred Scott decision, 602; splits into two parts, 608; defeated in 1860, 609; opposes the management of the war, and is defeated in 1864, 723; supports Johnson, 759; is defeated in 1868, 768; adopts the Liberal Republican ticket in 1872, and is defeated, 796; its nominations in 1876, 797; in control of Congress, 816; defeated in 1880, 817; successful in 1884, 826; defeated in 1888, 840; successful in 1892, 854; defeated in 1896, 865; in 1900, 906.
Demonetization of silver, 811.
Denys (dā-nese'), an early French explorer, 11.
Deposits, removal of, 469.
Detroit, Mich., an early French settlement, 139; transferred to the English, 152; transferred to the United States, 309; captured by the British, 356; recaptured by the Americans, 361.
Dewey, Admiral Geo., at the battle of Manila Bay, 881; shares control of Philippine affairs with Gen. Otis, 900; candidate for the presidency, 906.
Dieskau (di-es-ko'), Baron, in command of a French force, 146.
Dingley, Nelson, 870, 886.
Dinwiddie (din-wid'dl), Gov., of Virginia, 142.
District of Columbia (see Capital), slavery in the, 553, 555.
Donelson, Andrew J., nominated for Vice-President, 582.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Doniphan (don't-fan), Col., his march into Mexico, 529.
- Dorchester (dor'ches-ter) Heights, 198.
- Dorr Rebellion, 513.
- Douglas (dug'las), Stephen A., a Northern Democratic leader, 573; introduces the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 574; separates from the Southern Democrats, 602; nominated for President, 608; is defeated, 609; his senatorial campaign against Lincoln, 620.
- Dover, N. H., 55.
- Downie (dow'ni), Commodore G., in command of the British fleet on Lake Champlain, 382.
- Draft, the, 693.
- Drake, Joseph Rodman, an American poet, 457.
- Drake, Sir Francis, an early English explorer, 15; fights the Spaniards, 20.
- Dred Scott case, the, 600-2.
- Drunkenness, its former prevalence in America, 460.
- Duluth (doo-looth'), Minn., 783.
- EAGAN, C. P., Commissary-General, 899.
- Early, Gen. Jubal A., sent by Lee to raid Washington, 703; defeats Sheridan's army at Cedar Creek, but is defeated by Sheridan, 705.
- East Florida, 154.
- East Indies, 12.
- Eaton, Theophilus, one of the founders of New Haven, 60.
- Eckford, Henry, an American ship-builder, 380.
- Education. See Public Schools; Normal Schools; Colleges.
- Elba, the island to which Napoleon was banished, 397.
- Elberon (el'be-ron), a New Jersey watering-place, 818.
- Electors, their duty to choose the President and Vice-President, 282; their first meeting, 287; the first count of their votes, 294; the electoral system in general, 295; how it was changed in 1804, 323; failure of the electors to choose a President in 1824, 427; dispute over their votes in 1876, 798; how the dispute was settled, 799-801, 831.
- Electricity, application to telegraphing, 510; to the telephone, light, heat, and machinery, 805.
- Elizabeth, N. J., settlement, 119.
- Elizabeth, Queen, favors Raleigh, 23.
- Elkton, Md., Howe disembarks there, 215; Washington embarks there for Yorktown, 258.
- Ellsworth, Oliver, member of the Continental Congress, 192.
- Emancipation Proclamation, the, its issue and terms, 669; its influence on foreign affairs, 671; completed by the 13th Amendment, 757.
- Embargo, the, its passage and failure, 345 (see Commerce).
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, his literary work, 592.
- Endicott (en'di-küt), John, a Massachusetts leader, 50.
- England, refuses to help Columbus, 5; sends Cabot, who claims part of North America for her, 10; preliminary failures, 20, 23-4; organizes two colonization companies, 25; how her colonies came to lie together, 27; struggle between the king and the Parliament, 40; the Commonwealth, 41; the Restoration, 42; the first successful English settlement, 31; her relations with her colonies, 36-8; her encouragement of the slave-trade, 39; her passage of restrictions on colonial commerce, 67; her wars with France after the Restoration, 71; how England seized the middle Atlantic coast, 109 (see Great Britain).
- English, Wm. H., nominated for Vice-President, 817.
- Enterprise, the, captures the *Boxer*, 370.
- Epervier (ä-për'veä), the, captured by the *Peacock*, 374.
- Era of Good Feeling, 413, 433.
- Ericsson (er'ik-sen), John, invents the screw propeller, 447; builds the *Monitor*, 649.
- Erie Canal, 424.
- Erie, Lake, battle of, 381.
- Erie, Pa., a French fort, 142; Perry's ship yard, 381.
- Essex, the, captures the *Alert*, 366; captured by the *Phoebe* and *Cherub*, 373.
- Estaing, Count d' (des-tan(g)'), sent to the United States in command of a French fleet, 226; aids in the attack on Savannah, 244.
- Ether, its application to surgery, 517.
- Europe, why its people turned to discovery, 4; what nations of Europe took part in the discoveries, 12; affairs in Europe, 40-4 (see Great Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Portugal); immigration from Europe after 1848, 572, 829.
- Eutaw (u'taw) Springs, battle of, 254.
- Everett (ev'er-et), Edward, nominated for Vice-President, 608.
- Exchange of prisoners during the Civil War, 725.
- Executive Department, its duties 282; the succession in case of death or disability, 818, 831.
- Exhibitions, World's, Crystal Palace, 564; Centennial, 787; Southern, 824; World's Fair, 845.
- Expansion, 905-6.
- Expense of wars, of Revolutionary War, 265; of the War of 1812, 407;

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Expense—Continued.

of the Civil War, 670, 748, 782; of the Spanish War, 879, 886.
Express companies, their origin, 491.
Extradition of criminals, 502.

FAIRFIELD, Conn., scene of the Pequot defeat, 59.

Fair Oaks, battle of, 660.

Falmouth, Me., destroyed by the British, 203.

Farewell Address, 310.

Farragut (far'a-gut), Admiral David G., fights his way up the Mississippi and takes New Orleans, 654-5; returns to the Gulf of Mexico, 655; destroys the Confederate fleet in Mobile Bay, 718.

Fayetteville (fä-et'vll), N. C., settlement, 93; taken by Sherman, 728.

Federal Convention, 279.

Federal Government, established by the Constitution, 280; its three departments, 281-3; its inauguration, 294; its success, 303; its relations to the States, 475.

Federal Hall, 294, note.

Federal Party, the, its origin, 285; its success, 303; its purposes, 304; successful in 1796, 311; its great mistake, 321; defeated in 1800, 323; the excellence of its work, 331; loses power, 332; defeated in 1804, 339; defeated in 1808, 346; defeated in 1812, 351; supports the Hartford Convention, 390; becomes extinct, 409.

Federalist, the, 285.

Fenians, the, 791.

Ferdinand, king of Spain, 8.

Ferelo (fä-rä'lo), Spanish explorer, 15.

Ferguson, Col. Patrick, in command of the British at King's Mountain, 250.

Filibusters, their attacks on Cuba and Central America, 570, 873.

Filibustering, 841.

Filipinos (fil-l-pē'nōs), the, co-operate with the Americans, 881; begin hostilities against the Americans, 900.

Fillmore, Millard, elected Vice-President, 548; succeeds to the Presidency, 557; nominated for President, 582.

Fires, in New York, 450; in Chicago and Boston, 784.

Fisheries, the Newfoundland, disputes as to them, 777.

Fishing Creek, skirmish at, 250.

Fisk, C. B., nominated for President, 840, note.

Fitch, John, attempts to propel vessels by steam, 312.

Five Forks, battle of, 732.

Flag, the, as it appeared at Cambridge, and its changes, 197.

Flamboro' Head, 242.

Florida, its discovery and exploration, 9; De Soto lands in it, 13; the southern boundary of the English

Florida—Continued.

colonies, 30; not an English colony until 1763, 32; then transferred by Spain to Great Britain, 154; British troops from Florida attack Savannah, 244; transferred by Great Britain to Spain in 1763, 263; the Spanish governors aid the British in 1814, 398; Jackson seizes Pensacola, 414; Florida transferred to the United States by Spain, 414; admission, 509; secedes, 613; attacked by an expedition from Port Royal, 715; reconstructed and readmitted, 762; its electoral votes disputed in 1876, 798; its returning board, 798.

Florida, the, a Confederate privateer, 672, 696; captured by the *Wachusett*, 720.

Foote, Commodore Andrew H., in command of the western fleet, 640.

Forrest, Gen. N. B., a Confederate cavalry officer, 717.

Fort Brown, 524.

Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, 449.

Fort Donelson, captured by Grant, 640.

Fort Duquesne (du-kāne'), seized by the French, 143; repels the British, 146; captured by the British, 148.

Fort Erie, captured by the Americans, 392; repels the British, 393.

Fort Fisher, its capture by Gen. Terry, 716.

Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Can., 148.

Fort Griswold (griz'wuld), massacre by Arnold, 259.

Fort Henry, captured by gunboats, 639; its garrison escapes to Fort Donelson, 640.

Fort Jackson, passed by Farragut, 653; surrenders, 655.

Fort Leavenworth (lev'n-wurth), 529.

Fort McAllister, taken by Gen. Hazen, 714.

Fort McHenry, repels the British, 387.

Fort Meigs (megz), repels the British, 360.

Fort Mims, scene of a massacre by the Creeks, 395.

Fort Necessity, surrendered by Washington, 144.

Fort Niagara, captured by the British, 150.

Fort Orange, now Albany, 117.

Fort Pickens, saved from capture by the Confederates, 617.

Fort Pillow, taken by the Confederates, 717.

Fort Pulaski, taken by Gen. Gillmore, 652.

Fort St. Philip, passed by Farragut, 653; surrenders, 655.

Fort Schuyler, now Rome, N. Y., 220.

Fort Stephenson, repulses the British, 360.

Fort Sumter, held by the Union forces, 617; captured by the Con-

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Fort Sumter—Continued.

federates, 622; attacked by iron-clads, 688; battered into ruins, 688.

Fort Wagner, captured by Gen. Gillmore, 688.

Fort Washington, captured by the British, 209.

Fortress Monroe, the southern end of the Union line in Virginia, 629.

Fort Mercer and **Mifflin**, captured by the British, 217.

Fort Wayne, Ind., 308.

France, early discoveries in Canada, 11; early failures in attempts to colonize, 18; successful settlement, 19; events in France affecting emigration, 43; early French wars, 71; the French strongholds in Canada, 72; influence of the French over the Indians, 73; their claims in New York, 110; their explorations beyond Canada, 136; settlement within the United States, 137-8; their possessions in North America in 1750, 139; the weakness of their empire, 140; their efforts to keep the English back beyond the Alleghenies, 142; they capture Fort Duquesne, 143; and Fort Necessity, 144; France sends troops to America, 146; declares war against Great Britain, 147; loses Canada, 152; gives up all her American possessions in 1763, 154; secretly aids the colonies, 224; makes a treaty of alliance with the United States, 226; sends a fleet and army to America, 230, 257; sends a fleet to Chesapeake Bay, 257, note, 258; the French forces aid in capturing Cornwallis, 260-1; France becomes a republic, 305; demands aid from the United States, 306; acts in an unfriendly manner, 318; is answered with war, 319; Napoleon concludes a peace, 320; sells Louisiana to the United States, 334; oppresses American commerce, 343; succeeds in bringing the United States into war with Great Britain, 349; inferiority of France to Great Britain in naval warfare, 369; France is conquered and Napoleon banished, 397; pays for damages to American commerce, 464; refuses to intervene in the Civil War, 671; establishes an empire in Mexico, 695; refuses to permit the building of Confederate iron-clads, 696; withdraws her troops from Mexico, 770.

Franchise, the, during colonial times, 130.

Franklin, battle of, 711.

Franklin, Benjamin, proposes a plan of union, 145; agent of Massachusetts at London, 169; member of the Continental Congress, 192; and of the committee to draw up a Declaration of Independence, 206;

Franklin, Benjamin—Continued.

envoy to France, 224, note, 225; fits out war-vessels from France, 241; obtains a fleet for Paul Jones, 242.

Frazier's Farm, battle of, 663.

Fredericksburgh, battle of, 667.

Fredericksburgh, Va., 667.

Freedmen, meaning of the term, 754, note; their treatment in the South, 758; they are empowered to vote, 769; how they were peaceably prevented from voting, 789; how they were prevented by violence, 790-2; their other rights secured to them, 793.

Freehold, N. J., scene of the battle of Monmouth Court-house, 228.

Free-soil Party, its origin, 547; its vote falls off in 1852, 563; it becomes a part of the Republican Party in 1856, 576.

Free Trade, meaning of the term, 425; Congress abandons Free Trade and supports Protection, 426, 434; desire of the South for Free Trade, 446, 474, 605; Jackson is unable to revive Free Trade, 470; the Democrats in 1846 re-establish Free Trade, which remains in force until 1861, 521; the Republicans in 1861 abandon Free Trade and re-establish Protection, which still remains in force, 691, 825, 836; the issue revived, 837; application to Porto Rico, 904 (see *Tariff*, *Protection*, *American System*).

Frelinghuysen, Theodore, nominated for Vice-President, 515.

Frémont, John C., his explorations in the Rocky Mountains, 503; aids in the conquest of California, 529; nominated for President, but defeated, 582; a general in the Union army, 635.

French and Indian War, its origin, 141-2; first fighting of the war, 143-4; effects a union of the colonies, 145; England and France take part in it, 146-7; Pitt's successful management, 148; his use of the Colonies, 149; capture of Quebec, 150-1; conquest of all Canada, 152; peace, 154; one of its consequences, 159.

Friction-matches, not in existence in 1790, 288; invention of, 448.

Frobisher (fro'bish-er), Martin, his failure in Labrador, 10, 20.

Frohc, the, captured by the *Wasp*, 368.

Fuca, Juan de (Hoo-ahn' dâ foo'ka), a Spanish pilot, 15.

Fugitive slaves, the constitutional provisions in regard to them, 284; the complaint of the slave States, 553; passage of a Fugitive Slave law, 555; its nature and effects, 556, 563.

Fulton, Robert, his application of steam to vessels, 337.

The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Fundamental Constitutions of *Carolina*, the, 91, note.

GADSDEN PURCHASE, the, of territory from Mexico, 544.

Gage, Lyman J., Secretary of the Treasury, 869; plan of currency reform, 889.

Gage, Gen. Thomas, in command of the British in Massachusetts, 179.

Gag-rule, 494.

Gaines's Mill, battle of, 663.

Garcia (gar-sé'a), Gen. Calixto, 874, 884.

Garfield, James A., elected President, 817; inauguration, assassination, and death, 818.

Garrison, William Lloyd, demands the abolition of slavery, 462.

Gas for lighting, not known in 1790, 288; introduced in America, 422.

Gaspée (gäs-pä'), the, taken by the people of Providence, 171.

Gates, Gen. Horatio, appointed in place of Schuyler, 221; forces Burgoyne to surrender, 222; takes all the credit, 223; is defeated at Camden and succeeded by Greene, 249.

General Armstrong, the, an American privateer, 376.

Genet (jè-nä'), a French envoy to the United States, 306.

Geneva (jè-né'va), a city of Switzerland, 777.

Genoa (jén'o-a), the birthplace of Columbus, 5.

Geological surveys begun, 455.

George II., king of Great Britain, 103.

Georgia, an English colony in America, 32; under royal government, 35; its inception, 103; settlement, 104; slavery, 105; early wars, 116; southern boundary extended, 154; unable to take part in the first Continental Congress, 176; conquered by the British, 244; cruelly treated, 246; evacuated, 264; western claims, 271; cedes them to the United States, 273; difficulties with the Indians, 431, 463; secedes, 613; crossed by Sherman, 713-4; refuses to accept the first terms of reconstruction, 762; is reconstructed and readmitted, 788.

Georgia, the, a Confederate privateer, 696; captured by the *Niagara*, 720.

Germantown, battle of, 216.

Germany, and the Philippines, 887; in Samoa, 804.

Gerry (ger'ri), Elbridge, elected Vice-President, 351.

Gettysburg, battle of, 677.

Ghent (gent), treaty of, 400.

Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, an early English explorer, 20.

Gillmore, Gen. Quincy A., in command of the Union forces in South Carolina, 688.

Glendale, battle of, 663.

Gloucester (glos'ter), Mass., attacked by the British, 203.

Gold, found in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, 511; in California, 549; excites an exodus to California, 550; found in Colorado and other parts of the Rocky Mountains, 590; increase of production, 780; its comparative value, 810; is made the only coin, 811; gold monometallism, 857; Gold Standard Act, 889; in Klondike, 893; gold standard in the Republican platform of 1900, 906.

Goldsboro, battle of, 729.

Gomez (go'mäss), Gen. Maximo, 874.

Good Feeling, Era of, 413, 433.

Good Hope, Cape of, discovered, 4.

Goodyear, Charles, his process of vulcanizing rubber, 491.

Gorges (gor'jez), Sir Ferdinando, a leader in English colonization, 55.

Gosnold (goz'nuld), Bartholomew, at Buzzard's Bay, 24.

Graham, Wm. A., nominated for Vice-President, 563.

Grand Army, the, an association of veterans, 735, note.

Grand Gulf, Miss., 681.

Grant, Gen. Ulysses S., at Belmont, 635; in command at Cairo, 639; moves up the Tennessee, 640; takes Fort Donelson, 640; encamps at Pittsburgh Landing, 641; fights the battle of Shiloh, 642; in command at Corinth, 646; at Holly Springs, 699; fails in his first advance on Vicksburg, 646, 680; his friendship with Sherman, 646; crosses the Mississippi, 681; recrosses the Mississippi and drives Pemberton into Vicksburg, 681-2; captures Vicksburg, 682; takes possession of Arkansas, 683; called to Chattanooga, 687; relieves it from siege, 687; called to Virginia and put in command of all the Union armies, 698; acts in conjunction with Sherman, 698; changes his method of fighting, 699; his battles in the Wilderness, 701-2; crosses the James River, 704; besieges Petersburg, 704, 730; takes Petersburg and Richmond, 732; captures Lee's army, 733; reviews his army in Washington, 735; elected President, 768; his fitness for the presidency, 775; his two Administrations, 780-1; confidence in his integrity, 797; withdraws support from the reconstructed governments, 802.

Grasse (gras), Count de, in command of the French fleet, 243; aids in the capture of Cornwallis, 261, 289.

Great Britain (see England, until after 1707), her relations with her American colonies, 120-32; her colonies begin to cross the Alleghanies, 141; sends troops to America, 146; de-

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Great Britain—*Continued.*

clares war against France, 147; conquers Canada, 152; forces a peace from France, 154; unfortunate peculiarities of her government, 160; attempts to regulate the colonies, 163; passes the Stamp Act, 164; taxes American commerce, 169; retains only the tea tax, 173; attempts to punish disobedience, 175; the difficulties of the attempt, 185; proposes conciliation, 202; drives the colonies into declaring their independence, 205; declares war against France, 227; her warfare not a success, 231; determines to attack the Southern States, 236; her commerce injured by American privateers, 240; agrees to a treaty of peace, 262-3; evacuates the United States, 264; and the Northwestern forts, 309; her wars with Napoleon, 320, 333; her injuries to American commerce, 343-4; loses her trade with the United States, 345, 349; is involved in war with the United States, 351; her navy, 352, 365, 369; blockades the American coast, 371, 383; plunders exposed points, 384-8; conquers Napoleon and sends an expedition against Louisiana, 397; agrees to a treaty of peace, 400-1; mediates between France and the United States, 464; makes an extradition treaty with the United States, 502; and settles a great part of the northern boundary, 503; claims the Oregon country, 504; compromises it, 523, 777; population, 588; recognizes the Confederate States as a belligerent power, 627, note; demands the surrender of the Confederate commissioners, 638; refuses to recognize the independence of the Confederate States, 671; allows Confederate agents to build privateers, 672; but not ironclads, 696; connected with the United States by telegraph, 772; agrees to submit the Alabama claims to arbitration, 776-7; pays the damages awarded, 777; receives damages for the fisheries, 777; renewal of the fisheries dispute, 834; her interest in the Panama Canal, 834; dispute about seals in Bering Sea, 848; friendship in war with Spain, 887; interests in Samoa, 894; Clayton-Bulwer treaty, 895.

Greeley, Horace, nominated for President, 706.

Greenback Party, the, its objects, 797; defeated, 817, 826, 854.

Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, attacks Newport, 230; succeeds Gates, 249; his brilliant success, 254.

Grenada (gren-ah'da'), 154.

Grenville, George, his connection with the Stamp Act, 164.

Groton (grot'n), Conn., scene of the Pequot war, 59.

Guadalupe Hidalgo (gwa'da-loop hē-dal'go), treaty of, 543.

Guam (gwahm), the island of, 885.

Guanahani (gwah-no-hah'nē), discovered by Columbus, 6.

Guantanamo (gwahn-tā-nah'mo), 884.

Guerrillas, irregular forces, 647, 683.

Guerriere (ger-re-arr), sunk by the Constitution, 367.

Guiana, British, 861.

Guilford Court-house, battle of, 253.

Gunboats, the form used in 1812, 352; battles with blockading vessels, 371; western, 648; iron-clad gunboats on the Atlantic coast, 651.

HAGUE CONFERENCE, the, 897.

Hail Columbia, a national song, 319, note.

Hale, John Parker, an antislavery leader in Congress, 558; nominated for President, 563.

Hale, Nathan, hung as spy by the British, 209, note.

Halifax, N. S., British army goes to Halifax, 198; returns to attack New York, 207.

Halleck, Fitz-Greene, an American poet, 457.

Halleck, Gen. Henry W., in command of the Union forces in Missouri, 635; takes Corinth, 643.

Hamilton, Alexander, advocate of the Constitution, 285; author of the *Federalist*, 285; Secretary of the Treasury, 296; proposes a national bank, 300; financial measures, 299; leader of the Federal Party, 303; shot by Burr, 332.

Hamlin, Hannibal, nominated for Vice-President, 608; elected, 609.

Hampton Roads, battle of, 651.

Hampton, Va., destroyed, 384.

Hancock, John, a Massachusetts leader, 169; his sloop seized, 171; a member of the Continental Congress, 192.

Harlem, N. Y., skirmish at, 209.

Harmer's defeat, 308.

Harnden, W. F., and the express companies, 491.

Harper's Ferry, W. Va., seized by John Brown, 604; limit of the Confederate line, 628; taken by Jackson, 665.

Harrison, Benjamin, nominated and elected President, 840, 842, 844; defeated for President, 854.

Harrison, Wm. H., fights the battle of Tippecanoe, 350; made commander-in-chief of the West, 358; defends Fort Meigs, 360; defeats the British in the battle of the Thames and recovers the northwest, 361; nominated for President, but defeated, 480; nominated for President and elected, 498; death, 500.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Hartford, Conn., settlement, 58.
Hartford Convention, 390.
Harvard College founded, 75.
Hatcher's Run, part of Grant's line, 730.
Hatteras Inlet, capture of the forts at, 636.
Havana, captured by the British and provincials, 153; scene of the *Maine* explosion, 877; administrative measures in, 902.
Havre de Grace (hav' dè grahs), Md., attacked by the British, 384; on the route to Washington, 623.
Hawaii, 852; becomes a territory of the United States, 888.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 458.
Hayes, R. B., nominated for President, 797; his election disputed, 798; decided by the Electoral Commission, 801; prosperity under his Administration, 804; disagreements with Congress, 816.
Hazen, Gen. Wm. B., captures Fort McAllister, 714.
Helena (hél-ē'na), Ark., attacked by the Confederates, 683.
Hendricks, Thos. A., nominated for Vice-President, 797; his election disputed, 798; the Electoral Commission decides against him, 801; nominated again and elected, 826.
Henry, Gen. Guy V., Governor-General of Porto Rico, 903; is succeeded by Gen. Davis, 903.
Henry, Patrick, a Virginia orator, 165; member of the Continental Congress, 192.
Hessians, the, dislike of the Americans for them, 202; a Hessian garrison captured at Trenton, 212.
Hobart, Garret A., elected Vice-President, 865; died, 869, note.
Hobkirk's Hill, battle of, 254.
Hoe, R. M., and the printing-press, 518.
Holland, agreement with Spain, 12; explores and colonizes the country around the Hudson River, 28; conquers the Swedes in Delaware, 29; the refuge of the English Puritans, 45; the Dutch government of New Netherland, 109; overthrown by the English, 109; Holland reconquers the country, but finally abandons it to the English, 111.
Holly Springs, Miss., Grant's headquarters, 679; captured by Confederate cavalry, 680.
Holmes (hōlms), Oliver Wendell, 458.
Homestead riots, 853.
Hood, Gen. J. B., succeeds Johnston, 708; attacks Sherman, 709; endeavors to transfer the war to Tennessee, 710; is beaten and loses his army, 711; consequences of his mistake, 712.
Hooker, Gen. Joseph E., succeeds Burnside in command of the Army

Hooker, Gen. Joseph E.—*Continued.*
of the Potomac, 667; is defeated at Chancellorsville, 674; turns over the command to Meade, 676.
Hooker, Thomas, a Massachusetts minister, 59; heads the emigration to Connecticut, 58.
Horne, the, captures the *Peacock*, 370; and the *Penguin*, 375.
Horseshoe Bend, battle of, 396.
Houses, in 1790, 288; in 1860 and since that year, 595.
Houston (hews'tun), Gen. Sam., a Texas leader, 506.
Howe, Gen. Sir William, lands at Boston, 194; commands in the assault at Bunker Hill, 195; succeeds Gage and evacuates Boston, 198; lands on Staten Island, 207; fights the battle of Long Island and drives Washington north to Peekskill, 209; attacks Philadelphia by sea, 215; fights the battle of Chad's Ford and takes Philadelphia, 216; is succeeded by Clinton, 228.
Howe, Elias, and the sewing-machine, 517.
Hudson, Henry, seeks the Northwest Passage, 21; explores the coast from Hudson River to Chesapeake Bay, 28.
Hudson River, the, why its name was given, 28; its relation to New Netherland, 110; its importance to New York City, 116; the British hope to control it through their navy, 207; crossed by Washington and Cornwallis, 210; forms part of the route to Canada, 218; crossed by Burgoyne, 221; steamboats on the Hudson, 405; the "anti-rent" disturbances along the river, 514.
Huguenots (hu'gē-nots), driven from France, 43.
Hulks, or prison-ships, 232.
Hull, Capt. Isaac, in command of the *Constitution*, 366.
Hull, Gov. William, surrenders Detroit and Michigan, 356.
Hunter, Gen. David, in command of the Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley, 700; defeated and driven into West Virginia, 703.
Hutchinson, Mrs. Anne, banished from Massachusetts, 51.
Hutchinson, Thomas, a Massachusetts loyalist, 169.
IBERVILLE, d' (dè-bare-veel'), an early French explorer, 138.
Idaho, admitted to the Union, 846.
Illinois, why its name was given, 3; conquered by Clarke, 235; why Virginia claimed it, 271; made a Territory, 405; admission, 419 (see Ordinance of 1787).
"Immunes," 882.
Impeachment of the President, 282; of President Johnson, 767.

☞ The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Imperialism, 905-6.
 Impressment, right of, 343, 401.
 Imprisonment for debt, hardship of the system, 288, note; its gradual abolition, 461.
 Income tax decision, 860.
 Independence, Declaration of. See Declaration of Independence.
 Independence, Mo., Mormon settlement near, 495.
 Independents, the, 869.
 Indiana conquered by Clarke and made a part of Virginia, 235; why Virginia claimed it, 271; made a Territory, 324; admission, 405 (see Ordinance of 1787).
 Indianapolis monetary conference, 889.
 Indians, the, why the name was given, 2; their tribes and names, 3; troubles with the Indians in Massachusetts, 47; in Connecticut, 59; throughout New England, 68-9; in New York and Canada, 73; in Virginia, 77, 81; in North Carolina, 95; in South Carolina, 102; peace with them in Pennsylvania, 123; the northwestern Indians join the French, 144; submit unwillingly to the English, 144; form a part of Burgoyne's army, 218; sack exposed American villages and are heavily punished by Sullivan, 232; in Ohio, 308, 314; take sides with the British in 1812, 350, 361; their cruelty, 359; troubles with the Creeks, 394-6; with the Florida Indians, 414, 463; with the Georgia Indians, 431, 463; with the Illinois Indians, 463; with the Minnesota Indians, 673; with the Modocs and Sioux, 755; with the Nez Percés, 807.
 Indian Territory, the, 3, 846.
 Indies, East, assigned mainly to Portugal by Spain, 12.
 Indies, West, explored by Columbus, 6; French possessions in, 230, 266; a refuge for many of the Tories, 261.
 Indigo, cultivated in South Carolina, 98, 316.
 Ingersoll, Jared, nominated for Vice-President, 351, note.
 Insular Commission, Porto Rico, 903.
Insurgente, l' (lahn(g) - sur - zhahnt'), captured by the *Constellation*, 319.
 "Insurgents," and Porto Rican tariff, 904.
 Insurrection, in Massachusetts, 276; power of Congress to suppress, 281; the Whiskey Insurrection, 307.
 Insurrection, negro, in South Carolina, 99; in New York, 115; in Virginia, 462; the general Southern feeling, 492, 603; John Brown's, 604.
 Interest, reduction of, 814.
 Interior, Department of the, establishment of, 296, 520.
 Internal Improvements. See American System.
 International Copyright, 848.
 Interstate Commerce Act, 832.
 Iowa, part of the Louisiana purchase, 334; admission, 522.
 Ireland, 771, 772.
 Iron, iron-mines of Pennsylvania little known in 1790, 291; in New Jersey, 511.
 Iron-clad vessels, used during the Civil War on the western rivers, 648; previously built as experiments by Great Britain and France, 649; the first battle of iron-clads, 650-1; introduced into all navies, 651; at New Orleans, 654-5; used in attacking Fort Sumter, 688; capture of the *Atlanta*, 688; destruction of the *Albemarle*, 716; capture of the *Tennessee*, 718.
 Iroquois (Ir-o-kwoi'), an Indian race, 3.
 Irving, Washington, his literary work, 457.
 Isabella, queen of Spain, 5.
 Island Number Ten, capture of, 648.
 Italy, dispute with, 849.
 JACKSON, ANDREW, put in command of the Tennessee troops, 395; overthrows the Creeks, 396; seizes Pensacola, 398; completely defeats the British expedition against Louisiana, 399; seizes Florida, 414; nominated for President, but defeated, 427; nominated again by the Democrats and elected, 438; sketch, 441; change of manners during his Administrations, 442; his foreign policy, 464; his political contests, 466; changes the civil service, 467; overthrows the Bank of the United States, 468-9; attacks the American System, 470; re-elected President, 473; resists Nullification, 477; his general success, 481-2.
 Jackson, Gen. Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall), Lee's ablest lieutenant, 661; his raid on Banks, 662; returns to the Peninsula, 663; overwhelms Pope, 664; captures Harper's Ferry, 665; aids in defeating Burnside at Fredericksburgh, 667; killed at Chancellorsville, 674.
 Jackson, Miss., held by Johnston, 681-2.
 Jacksonville, Fla., taken by the Union forces, 715.
 Jalapa (Hah-lah'pa), Mex., occupied by Scott, 536-7.
 James I., king, charters two colonization companies, 25; difficulties with his Parliament, 40.
 James II., king, his reign in England, 42; annoys the colonies, 44; takes away the charter of Massachusetts, 54; attempts to do so in the other New England colonies, 70.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- James River, the, why the name was given, 31; McClellan's campaign on the James, 657-63; Grant's campaign on the James, 704, 731.
- Jamestown, Va., settled, 26, 31, 76; destroyed, 82.
- Japan, opened to American commerce, 569.
- Jasper, Sergeant William, 203, note.
- Java, the, taken by the *Constitution*, 368.
- Jay, John, member of the Continental Congress, 192; first chief justice of the Supreme Court, 298; concludes a treaty with Great Britain, 309.
- Jefferson, Thomas, member of the Continental Congress, 192-3; author of the Declaration of Independence, 206; Secretary of State, 296; a leader of the Republican Party, 303; nominated for President, but defeated, 311; nominated again and elected, 323; upholds state sovereignty, 328; change of manners during his Administrations, 330-1; acquires Louisiana, 334; orders the Oregon country to be explored, 335; re-elected President, 339; his peace policy, 344; death, 432.
- Jersey*, the, a notorious prison-ship, 232.
- Johnson, Andrew, Senator from Tennessee, 616; military governor of Tennessee, 641; elected Vice-President, 723; succeeds to the Presidency, 739; his feeling in regard to the States, 754; his plan of reconstruction, 756; vetoes the plan of Congress, but is defeated, 761; quarrels with Congress, 765; removes Stanton, 766; is impeached, but not convicted, 767.
- Johnson, Herschel V., nominated for Vice-President, 608.
- Johnson, Richard M., nominated for Vice-President and elected, 480; re-nominated and defeated, 498.
- Johnson, Sir William, defeats the French and Indians near Lake George, 146.
- Johnston, Gen. Albert Sidney, in command of the Confederate armies in the West, 639; killed at Shiloh, 642.
- Johnston, Gen. Joseph E., decides the battle of Bull Run, 632; in command of the Confederate army on the Peninsula, 658; wounded and retires, 660; succeeds Bragg in the West, 680; tries to aid Pemberton, 681; is driven out of Jackson, 682; takes command at Dalton, 687; his position, 697; his retreat from Dalton to Atlanta, 706; the reasons for it, 707; his removal, 708; recalled to service, 728; attacks Sherman, 729; surrenders, 734.
- Joliet (zho-le-ä'), Louis, finds the Mississippi, 136.
- Jones, Capt. Jacob, in command of the *Wasp*, 368.
- Jones, Capt. John Paul, in command of the *Ranger*, 240; of the *Richard*, 242.
- Judiciary Department, its duties, 283.
- Julian, George W., nominated for Vice-President, 563.
- KALB (kalb), BARON DE, arrives from Europe, 214; killed at Camden, 249.
- Kansas-Nebraska Act, its passage and consequences, 574.
- Kansas, becomes a Territory, 574; the two sections struggle for it, 578; the free-State settlers win, 579; admission, 587.
- Kansas City, 906.
- Kansas Pacific Railway, 890.
- Kaskaskia (kas-kas'kë-a), Ill., a former French town, 139.
- Kearney (kar'ni), Gen. S. W., conquers New Mexico, 520.
- Kearsarge* (ke'ar-sarj), the, sinks the *Alabama*, 720.
- Kenesaw (ken-e-saw') Mountain, battle of, 706.
- Kennebec (ken-e-bek') River, the, early settlement, 33; route to Canada, 200.
- Kent, James, a great American lawyer, 459.
- Kentucky, Boone's settlement, 157, note; followed by others, 235; the territory belongs to Virginia, 271; admission, 302; massacre of her troops, 359; sends men to defend New Orleans, 398; supports the Union, 626; Confederates in Kentucky, 639; they are driven out, 641; raided by Bragg, 644; by John Morgan, 684.
- Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, the, 322.
- Key, Francis S., writes the song "Star-Spangled Banner," 387, note.
- Key West, Fla., saved from the Confederates, 617; naval rendezvous, 882.
- Kidd, Capt. Robert, a New York pirate, 114.
- Kieft (keeft), Sir William, governor of New York, 109.
- King, Rufus, nominated for Vice-President, 339, note; for President, 409, note.
- King, W. R., nominated for Vice-President, 563.
- King's Mountain, battle of, 250.
- Kingston, Can., taken from the French by the British, 148.
- Kingston, N. Y., 117.
- Kingston, R. I., scene of the swamp fight, 69.
- Klondike gold-fields, the, 893.
- Knox, Gen. Henry, Secretary of War, 296.
- Knoxville, Tenn., besieged by the Confederates, 686.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- "Know Nothings," 572.
 Kosciuszko (kōs-si-us'kō), Thaddeus, arrives from Europe, 214.
 Koszta (kōs'ta), Martin, the case of, 568.
 Ku Klux Klan, 792.
- L**
LABRADOR (lab-ra-dor'), failures to settle it, 10, 20.
Ladrones (lad-rō'nēs), the, 885.
Lafayette (lah-fā-et'), Ind., 350.
La Fayette, Marquis de, arrives from Europe, 214; attacks Newport, 230; fights Arnold and Phillips in Virginia, 252; prevents Cornwallis from escaping, 258; revisits the United States in old age, 421.
Lancaster (langk'as-ter), Pa., 217.
Land companies, 141, 292.
Lane, Joseph, nominated for Vice-President, 608.
La Quasima (la kwā-sē'mā), 882.
La Salle (lah sahl), Robert de, names Louisiana, 136.
Lava Beds, scene of an Oregon Indian war, 785.
Lawrence, Capt. James, in command of the *Hornet*, 370; of the *Chesapeake*, 372.
Lawrence, the, Perry's flag-ship, 381.
Lawrence, the river St., its discovery, 11; its acquisition by the French, 18; becomes part of the northern boundary of the United States, 263.
Laws of the United States, under the Constitution, 280; by whom they are made, 281; by whom they are executed, 282; by whom they are interpreted, 283; laws passed by Congress, 297-8 (see Congress); how affected by the veto, 469; by the question of slavery, 508.
Leavenworth (lev'n-wurth), Kan., 529.
Lee, Arthur, agent in France, 224, note.
Lee, Gen. Charles, in command at Peekskill, 210; dismissed from the service, 228, note.
Lee, Gen. Robert E., attempts to recover West Virginia, 630; takes command of the Confederate Army, 658, note; recognized as the ablest Confederate general, 661; fights the Seven Days' Battles, 663; joins Jackson after the second battle of Bull Run, 664; first invasion of the North, 665; at the battle of Antietam, 666; defeats Burnside at Fredericksburgh, 667; defeats the Union Army at Chancellorsville, 674; second invasion of the North, 675-6; defeated at Gettysburgh, 677-8; fights the Wilderness battles against Grant, 701; forced back on Richmond, 702-4; retreats from Richmond, 732; surrenders at Appomattox, 733.
Legal Tender, meaning of the term, 670.
- Legislative department**, its duties and membership, 281.
Leisler (līse'ler), Jacob, hung for treason, 113.
Leon, Ponce de (ponē'thā dā lē'one), discovers Florida, 9.
Leopard, the, insults the *Chesapeake*, 344.
Levant (lē-vant'), the, captured by the Constitution, 375.
Lewes (lu'ess), Del., destroyed, 384.
Lexington, Mass., fight at, 181.
Liberal Republicans, why they left the Republican Party, 795; are joined by the Democrats and defeated, 796.
Liberator, the, a Boston newspaper, 462.
Liliuokalani, 852.
Lincoln, Abraham, nominated for President, 608; elected, 609; his disadvantages, 621; orders Fort Sumter to be provisioned, 622; calls for volunteers, 623; proclaims a blockade of Southern ports, 625; calls a special session of Congress, 631; begins the appointment of military governors, 641; issues the Emancipation Proclamation, 669; proclaims a day of thanksgiving for Union victories, 689; re-elected President, 723; the public estimation of him, 736; his assassination and death, 737; his funeral, 738.
Lincoln, Gen. Benjamin, in command of the American forces in South Carolina, 244; surrenders at Charleston, 247; receives the surrender of the British at Yorktown, 261.
Literature, in 1775, 187; from 1790 until 1830, 457; after 1830, 458; in its maturity, 592.
Little Belt, the, beaten by the *President*, 349, note.
Livingston, Robert, member of the Continental Congress, 206.
Locke, John, an English philosopher, 91, note.
Locomotive engine, Trevithick's and Stephenson's locomotives, 429; the new machine introduced into the United States, 442; Americans make their own locomotives, 443 (see Railways); possible use of electricity, 805.
Logan, John A., nominated for Vice-President, but defeated, 826.
Lome, De, letter, 876.
London Company, the, chartered, 25; sends out colonists, 31; colonies formed from its territory, 32; loses its charter, 32, 80.
Long, John D., Secretary of the Navy, 869.
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, an American poet, 458.
Long Island, battle of, 209.
Long Island, N. Y., claimed by Con-

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Long Island—Continued.

- necticut, but taken by New York, 110; held by the British, 231.
 Longstreet, Gen. James, in command of the Confederate forces at Knoxville, 686.
 Lookout Mountain, battle of, 687.
 Lords, House of, 40.
 Los Angeles (lōs ahng'Hā-lēz), Cal., the last battle with the Mexicans in California, 529; terminus of the Southern Pacific Railroad, 783.
 Louisburgh (loo'ls-burg), a French stronghold on Cape Breton Island, 72; taken by the British, 148.
 Louisiana Purchase, the, 334.
 Louisiana, State of, admission, 405; secedes, 613; operations in the State, 653-5, 679, 682, 715; reconstructed and readmitted, 762; disorders in the State, 790; electoral votes disputed, 798; the Returning Board, 798; the decision, 801.
 Louisiana territory, its original extent, 135; so named by La Salle, 136; granted to a French company, 138; France surrenders that portion east of the Mississippi to Great Britain, 154; France transfers the portion west of the Mississippi to Spain, and it keeps the name Louisiana, 155; Spain's territory of Louisiana becomes the western boundary of the United States, 263; transferred by Spain to France in 1800, 334; by France to the United States in 1803, 334; attacked without success by Great Britain, 397; slavery in Louisiana, 415; the territory divided by the Missouri Compromise line, 418 (see Compromise, Missouri); did not cover the Oregon country, 504; or Texas, 505.
 Lovejoy, E. P., killed by a mob at Alton, 493.
 Lowell (lo'el), Mass., growth, 450.
 Lowell, James Russell, his literary work, 592.
 Lucifer match, not known in 1790, 288; its invention, 448.
 Lundy's Lane, battle of, 392.
 Luzon (loo-sōn'), war in, 900-1.
 Lynchburgh (linch'burg), Va., attacked unsuccessfully from the Shenandoah valley, 700; cut off from Richmond by Sheridan, 731; Lee tries to reach it, 733.
 Lynn (lin), Mass., settlement, 49.
 Lyon, Gen. Nathaniel, in command of the Union forces in Missouri, 635.
 MACDONOUGH, Commodore THOMAS, in command of the American fleet on Lake Champlain, 382.
 Macedonian, the, taken by the United States, 368.
 Mackinaw (mak'in-aw), Mich., an early French fort, 139.

- Macon (ma'kon), Ga., 725.
 Madeira (ma-dee'ra), 368.
 Madison, James, one of the leaders in forming the Constitution, 278; elected President, 346; sketch, 348; re-elected, 351.
 Magellan (mā-jel'lan), Fernando, discovers the way around South America, from Europe to the East Indies, 21.
 Maine, its Indian names, 3; sighted by Cortereal, 12; attempt to settle it, 33; forms part of the Plymouth Company's grant, 33; becomes a part of Massachusetts, 54; a large part of it conquered by the British in 1814-15, 385; admission, 418; boundary dispute with New Brunswick, 497; settled by treaty, 503.
 Maine, the, blown up in Havana harbor, 877.
 Malietoa (mal-ē-ā-tō'a), king of Samoa, 894.
 Malietoa Tanu (mal-ē-ā-tōa tā-noo'), 894.
 Malvern (mawl'vern) Hill, battle of, 663.
 Manassas (ma-nas'sas) Junction, Va., 632, 658.
 Manhattan (man-hat'tan) Island, bought by the Dutch, 28.
 Manila, occupied by the Americans, 881; still under martial law, 901.
 Manila Bay, battle of, 881.
 Manufactures, begun in New England, 75; efforts of Parliament to prohibit them, 67, 163; encouragement of manufactures by the colonies, 186; influence of the patent system, 312 (see Patents); decline of manufactures after 1815, 406; in order to revive them, Congress turns to Protection, 426 (see Protection); rise of manufacturing cities, 450, 589.
 Marietta (mā-rē-et'ta), O., settlement, 292.
 Marion (mā'ri-un), Gen. Francis, 248.
 Marque (mark), letters of, 625.
 Marquesas (mar-kā-sas') Islands, 373.
 Marquette, Jacques (zhakh mar-ke't'), finds the Mississippi, 136.
 Marshall, John, a great lawyer and judge, 459.
 Maryland, part of the London Company's grant, 32; a proprietary colony, 35; its first proprietor and name, 85; settlement, 86; forces the transfer of the western territory to the United States, 272; one of the "small" States in 1787, 279; holds to the Union, 626; operations in Maryland, 665, 675.
 Mason and Dixon's Line, 87.
 Mason, John, proprietor of New Hampshire, 55.
 Massachusetts, its Indian name, 3; the remnant of the Plymouth Company's grant, 27; originally two

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Massachusetts—Continued.

colonies, 33; a charter colony, 35; settlement of the Plymouth colony, 45; its leaders, 47; settlement of the Massachusetts Bay colony, 48; supposed meaning of the name, 48, note; its leaders, 50; religious persecution, 51-2; witchcraft, 53; union of the two colonies, 54; takes part in the war against Philip, 69; loses the charter, 54, 70; captures Port Royal, 72; proposes the Stamp Act Congress, 166; resists commercial taxation, 169; resistance ceases to be peaceable, 171; Parliament declares the Massachusetts people rebels, 172; and attempts to alter the charter, 175; Congress promises to support Massachusetts, 177; state of the colony in 1775, 180; the Massachusetts people fight the British, 181-2; and besiege Boston, 183; stands second in population in 1775 and seventh in 1880, 184; operations in Massachusetts, 194-8; Massachusetts claims western territory, 271; cedes it to the United States, 273; rebellion in, 276; introduces the normal-school system, for training public-school teachers, 455.

Massachusetts Government Act, the, 175.

Mataafa (mā-tā-ā'fa), king of Samoa, 894.

Matamoros (mat-a-mo'ras), Mex., 526, 531.

Mather (math'er), Cotton, a Massachusetts minister, 53.

Mauch Chunk (mawk chunk), Pa., 429.

Maximilian, made emperor of Mexico, 695; taken and shot by the Mexicans, 770.

Mayflower, the, 45.

McClellan, Gen. George B., enters West Virginia, 630; called to command the Army of the Potomac, 633; transfers the Army of the Potomac to the Peninsula, 657; takes Yorktown and tries to make a junction with McDowell, 659; the army is divided by the Chickahominy, 660; McClellan loses connection with McDowell, 662; fights the Seven Days' Battles and reaches the James River, 663; recalled to aid Pope, 664; leads his army across Maryland to cover Baltimore, 665; fights the battle of Antietam, and is succeeded by Burnside, 666; nominated for President, but defeated, 723.

McClure, Capt. R. J. M., finds a "northwest passage," 21.

McDowell, Gen. Irvin, in command of the Union forces at Bull Run, 632; of the force covering Washington, 659; cut off from McClellan, 662.

McKinley Tariff Act, 842.

McKinley, Wm., elected President, 865; causes of his election, 869; inaugural address, 869; calls extra session of Congress, 869; appoints monetary commission, 872; announces his Cuban policy, 875; his proposition to Spain, 878; requests authority from Congress to intervene by force, 878; proclaims a blockade of Cuba, 882; attitude towards the civil service, 892; recommends control of Nicaraguan canal by the United States, 895; Philippine policy, 900; appoints civil commissioners for the Philippines, 900; appoints an Insular Commission for Porto Rico, 903; on the Porto Rican tariff question, 904; renominated, 906.

Meade, Gen. George G., in command at Gettysburgh, 576-7.

Mechanicsville, battle of, 663.

Mediation of Russia to make peace between Great Britain and the United States, 400; of Great Britain to make peace between France and the United States, 464.

Memphis, Tenn., visited by yellow fever, 808.

Meridian (mê-rîd'ian), Miss., occupied by Sherman, 717.

Merrimac, the, turned into a Confederate iron-clad, 649; destroys the Union fleet in Hampton Roads, 650; fights the *Monitor*, 651; results of the battle, 651; destruction of the *Merrimac*, 659.

Merritt, Gen. Wesley, at Manila, 881. Mexico, its Indian empire, 2; Spanish adventure in it, 7; conquered by the Spaniards in 1521, 14; perhaps aimed at by Burr, 340; rebels against Spain and becomes an independent republic, 506; claims Texas, 524; claims the Nueces River as the western boundary of Texas, 524; her disadvantages in war, 526; war declared, 527; loses California, 529; and New Mexico, 529; Taylor's operations, 531-3; Scott's operations, 534-42; peace concluded, 543; Maximilian becomes emperor, 695; and is taken and shot by the Mexicans, 770.

Michigan, claimed by Virginia, 271; covered by the Ordinance of 1787, 274; surrendered by Hull, 356; reconquered by Harrison, 361; made a Territory, 405; admission, 454; copper in, 512.

Milan (mî-lan'), Decree, the, 343.

Miles, Major-Gen. Nelson A., occupies Porto Rico, 883; the "beef" scandal, 899.

Militia, in the Revolutionary armies, 265; power of Congress over, 281; employed in the Whiskey Insurrection, 307; against the "Anti-renters," 514.

The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Milledgeville, Ga., 713.
 Millen, Ga., 713.
 Mill Spring, battle of, 640.
 Mills Bill, the, 839.
 Minerals, mineral wealth of the United States, 511; of the South, 824.
 Minnesota, part of the Louisiana purchase, 334; admission, 587; Sioux war in, 673.
 Mint, the, first coins issued, 312.
 Minuit (min'u-it), Peter, governor of New Netherland, 29; of Delaware, 109.
 Minute-men, in Massachusetts, 180; in the Revolutionary armies, 265.
 Missionary Ridge, battle of, 687.
 Mississippi, claimed by Georgia, 271; ceded to the United States, 273; made a Territory, 324; part of the Southwest Territory, 394; admission, 419; secedes, 613; operations in, 643, 646, 679-82, 717, 727; refuses the first terms of reconstruction, 762; electoral votes not received in 1868, 768, note; reconstructed and readmitted, 788; disorders in, 790.
 Mississippi River, the, crossed by De Soto, 14; upper part found by Marquette and Joliet, 136; its mouth found by d'Iberville, 138; becomes the boundary between Spanish Louisiana and the British colonies, 154; some of the States claim to extend west to the Mississippi, 271; treaty with Spain as to its use, 315; steamboat used on it, 405, 449; Indians removed beyond it, 430; fortified by the Confederates, 628; opened up as far south as Memphis, 643; gunboat operations on it, 648; opened up throughout, except at Vicksburgh and Port Hudson, 655; the completion of the work falls to Grant, 679; he operates at first on the west side of the river, 681; afterward on the east side, 681; Vicksburgh and Port Hudson surrender and the river is opened, 682; results, 689-90; surrender of the Confederate forces west of the river, 734; difficulties in its navigation, 809, 821.
 Missouri, part of the Louisiana purchase, 334; admission, 418; State officers secessionists, 626; operations in Missouri, 635, 637, 647.
 Missouri Compromise. See Compromise, Missouri.
 Mobile (mo-beel'), Ala., originally an Indian town, 14; settled by the French, 138; one of the last Confederate ports, 715; how Farragut forced his way into the bay, 718; surrender of the city, 727.
 Modoc War, the, 785.
 Mohawk River, the, 219.
 Mohawks, an Indian tribe, 3.
 Molino del Rey (mô-lê'no del rä), battle of, 541.
 Monetary commission, the, 872, 889.
 Monetary conference at Indianapolis, 889.
 Money or currency, tobacco, 78; rice, 98; paper, 233, 670; coin, 281; State paper, 286; lack of money in 1812, 355.
 Monitor, the, built by Ericsson, 649; battle with the *Merrimac*, 651; its effects on naval construction, 651.
 Monk's Corner, battle of, 247.
 Monmouth (mon'muth), battle of, 228.
 Monongahela (mô-non-ga-hê'la) River, the, 142, 853.
 Monroe Doctrine, the, its announcement, 420; violation by France, 695; the United States again enforces it, 770, 861.
 Monroe (mun-ro'), James, elected President, 409; re-elected, 413.
 Montana, 835.
 Montauk, camp at, 882.
 Montcalm (mont-kahm'), Marquis de, in command of the French forces in Canada, 147; defends Ticonderoga, 148; draws all his forces to defend Quebec, 150; defeat and death, 151.
 Monterey (mon-tê-rä'), Cal., 529.
 Monterey, Mex., occupied by Taylor, 531.
 Montgomery, Ala., capital of the Confederate States, 614; capital changed to Richmond, 628.
 Montgomery, Gen. Richard, killed at Quebec, 200.
 Montreal (mont-rê-awl'), a French town, 72, 139; taken by the English, 152; taken and lost by the Americans, 200; an object of American attack, 357.
 Monts (mawn(g)), de, a successful French colonizer, 19.
 Morgan, Gen. Daniel, in command of the Americans at the Cowpens, 251.
 Morgan, John, a Confederate cavalry officer, 684.
 Morgan, William, his abduction and its consequences, 472.
 Mormons, the, their origin and settlement in Illinois, 495; remove to Utah, 586; still resist the laws against polygamy, 822; renounce polygamy, 862.
 Morris, Robert, a member of the Continental Congress, 192.
 Morristown, N. J., the American headquarters during the latter part of the Revolution, 212, 229, 239.
 Morse, S. F. B., and the electric telegraph, 510.
 Morton, Levi P., elected Vice-President, 840.
 Morton, Dr. W. T. G., and anesthetics, 517.
 Motley, John Lothrop, his literary work, 592.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Moultrie (mole'tri), William, defends Charleston against the British, 203.
 Mount Hope, R. I., King Philip's headquarters, 69.
 Mount Vernon, Va., Washington's home, 310, 325.
 Muravieff (moo-ra'vé-éf), Count, peace proposals, 897.
 Murfreesboro (mur-freez-bur'ro), battle of, 645.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. See France.
 Narragansett (nar-ra-gan'set), an Indian name, 3.

Narvaez (nar-vah'eth), a Spanish explorer, 9.

Nashville, battle of, 711.

Nashville, Tenn., taken by the Union forces, 641. 2

Natchez (nach'ez), Miss., a former French post, 139; Burr arrested there, 340; in the Southwest Territory, 394; Tennessee volunteers marched thither, 395.

National Banks, their superiority to the old State banks, 484; institution of the system, 670.

National Party. See Greenback Party.

National Republicans, 437, 471 (see Whig Party).

National Road, appropriations for it, 423.

Naturalization, position of the United States, 567.

Nautilus, the, taken by the *Peacock* after the treaty of peace, and restored to the British, 375.

Nauvoo, Ill., the Mormon settlement, 495.

Naval School, the, established at Annapolis, 519.

Navigation Acts, the, their passage and purpose, 67; aimed particularly at Virginia, 80; the Board of Trade tries to enforce them, 132; they are evaded or disobeyed, 158, 163; why the colonies submitted to them, 168; violent attempts to enforce them, 186.

Navy, the, the privateer navy of the colonies in 1763, 153; Congress attempts to form one, 191; successes of the vessels built, 240; the poverty of Congress defeats the attempt, 241; purchase of vessels in France, 242; under the Constitution, Congress regulates the navy, 281; and the President is its commander-in-chief, 282; the poverty of the United States still interferes with its navy, 313; France forces Congress to increase the navy, 319; its success, 319; the navy chastises the Barbary States, 341-2; why the Republicans did not favor a navy, 344; the navy in 1812, 352; very little expected from it, 365; its brilliant successes, 366-7; their effects,

Navy—Continued.

369; the lake navies and their success, 378-382; first attempts to use torpedoes and steam-vessels, 384; subsequent effects of the naval successes, 401; the navy brings the Barbary States to a lasting peace, 404; change of the navy by the introduction of steam war-vessels, 447; a naval force occupies Charleston harbor, 477; the navy occupies the Pacific coast of Mexico, 529; and the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, 535; rescues Kosztá, 568; opens up Japan, 569; its officers generally hold to the Union in 1861, 616; attempts to provision Fort Sumter, 622; blockades the Southern ports, 625; captures the forts at Hatteras Inlet, Port Royal, and Ship Island, 636; takes Mason and Slidell, 638; a Western river navy formed, 648; the wooden vessels give way to iron-clads, 651; the navy captures Roanoke Island, 652; forces its way up the Mississippi, 654; takes New Orleans, 655; controls the James River, 659; pursues Confederate privateers, 672; runs the Vicksburg batteries and ferries Grant's army over the Mississippi, 681; attacks Fort Sumter without success, 688; captures the *Atlanta*, 688; blows up the *Albemarle*, 716; joins in the attacks on Fort Fisher, 716; destroys the Confederate fleet at Mobile, 718; takes the *Alabama*, 720; the *Florida*, 720; and the *Georgia*, 720; size of the navy during the Civil War, 746; in 1880, 834, 844; destroys the Spanish fleet at Manila, 881; at Santiago, 882.

Nebraska, part of the Louisiana purchase, 334; admission, 774.

Negros (nè-gròs), 900, 901.

Nevada (nè-vah'da), part of the Mexican cession, 544; silver discovered in it, 590; admission, 726; influence of its silver production on the business of the world, 810.

New Albion, Drake's name for western North America, 15.

New Amsterdam, the Dutch name for New York City, 28.

Newark, N. J., settlement, 119.

New Berne, N. C., settlement, 93.

New Brunswick, N. J., Washington retreats through it, 210; becomes the British headquarters, 213.

New Brunswick, province of, boundary dispute with Maine, 497.

New England, when the name was given, 33, note; its colonies, 33 (see Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, Maine); the religious feeling of its people, 51; their dealings with the Quakers, 52; the New England Confederation, 66; their com-

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

New England—Continued.

mercantile difficulties (see Navigation Acts); with the Indians, 68-9; with Andros, 70; with the French, 71-3; growth and character, 74-5; their first colleges, 158; its colonies join in the siege of Boston, 183; slavery decays in it, 188; military operations in it during the Revolution, 194-8, 203, 207, 214, 220, 230, 243, 245, 259; holds to the Federal Party, 331; dissatisfaction with the Embargo, 345; and with the War of 1812, 355; its coast blockaded, 383; part of it taken by the British, 385; the Hartford Convention, 389-390; dislike to the Mexican War, 527.

Newfoundland (nu'fund-land), its fisheries, 10, 11; Gilbert visits it, 20; Calvert tries to colonize it, 85; the right to the fisheries secured to Americans, 263; disputes arbitrated, 834.

New Hampshire (hamp'shur), part of the Plymouth Company's grant, 33; a royal colony, 35; assigned to John Mason, 55; history, 56; one of the "small" States in 1787, 279; the ninth State to ratify the Constitution, 286.

New Haven (håvn), Conn., at first a separate colony, 33; settlement, 60; joined to Connecticut, 61; plundered by the British, 245.

New Jersey, part of the Dutch territory, 28; taken from the Dutch by the English, 109; becomes a royal colony, 118; settlement and history, 119-120; Washington retreats through it, 210; the British occupy a part of it, 213; the British retreat across it, 228; send plundering expeditions into it, 231; one of the "small" States in 1787, 279; trusts in, 891.

New Jersey, College of, 120.

New London, Conn., attacked by Arnold, 259.

New Madrid (mad'rid), Mo., 648.

New Mexico, explored by the Spaniards, 13; taken from Mexico, 529; part of it claimed by Texas, 553; organized as a Territory, 555.

New Netherland, settled by the Dutch, 28; taken by the English, 109.

New Orleans (or'lå-anz), La., settled by the French, 138 (see Louisiana); a Spanish city in 1795, 315; the British expedition against it, 394; the city fortified, 398; the expedition defeated, 399; importance of the city to the Confederates, 653; surrender to Farragut, 655; the yellow fever epidemic, 808; exposition, 824; mob, 849.

Newport, Capt. Christopher, an agent of the London Company, 31.

Newport, R. I., settlement, 62; taken by the British, 214; attacked by the Americans and French, 230; held by the British, 231; evacuated by the British, 247; arrival of a French army, 257.

Newspapers, in 1760, 158; in 1775, 187; in 1790, 289; the first in the northwest, 314; changes about 1835, 456; improvements in printing and news-collecting, 518; in 1860, 592.

New York City, settled by the Dutch, 28; the negro plot, 115; growth of the city, 116; meeting of the Stamp Act Congress, 166; Washington arrives at, 208; taken by the British, 209; part of the British leave it for Philadelphia, 215; return to it, 228; held by the British for the rest of the war, 229; evacuated by them, 264; the city in 1787, 288; inauguration of the new government, 294; ceases to be the capital, 299; fear of an attack on the city, 384; the "great fire," and the Croton Aqueduct, 450; World's Fair, 564; the Clearing-house, 565; the Brooklyn Bridge, 566, note; Central Park and Astor Library, 595; the draft riots, 693.

New York State, settled by the Dutch as New Netherland, 28; conquered by the English, 34, 109; a royal colony, 35; its name changed to New York, 109; size of the colony, 110; reconquered by Holland, but given back, 111; the patroon system, 112; history under the English, 113-117; the French driven out of northwestern New York, 148; refuses to obey Parliament, 167; Parliament attempts to punish it, 169; the road into Canada, 199; the Tories in New York, 207; Burgoyne's expedition, 218-222; the whole State, except New York City and part of Long Island, held by the Americans for the rest of the war, 229; the western boundary, 271; cession of the western claims, 273; a "small State" in 1787, 279; ratifies the Constitution, 286; the State in 1790, 291; in 1812, 354; military operations in the State, 362-4, 380, 382, 391; western New York after the war, 405; the Erie Canal, 424; attempt to aid the rebellion in Canada, 496; the "anti-rent" disturbances, 514; the electoral vote of the State in 1844, 515; in 1848, 548; its electoral vote in 1884 and 1888, 826, 840.

Nez Percés (nä par'såz), an Indian tribe, 807.

Niagara, the, captures the Georgia, 720.

Niagara, the, Perry's new flag-ship, 381.

Nicaragua, 834; Nicaragua Canal Commission, 895; England re-

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Nicaragua—Continued.

nounces all claims to a share in the control of the canal, 896; construction of the canal called for by the Republican platform of 1900, 906.
 Nichols (nik'uls), Col. Richard, first English governor of New York, 109.
 Non-Intercourse Act, the, takes the place of the Embargo, 345; revived against Great Britain, 349.
 Norfolk (nor'fuk), Va., attacked by the British, 203, 245; the southern end of the Confederate line, 628; a Confederate navy yard, 649, 659.
 Normal schools, their institution, 455.
 Norristown, Pa., 217.
 North Carolina, possibly sighted by Cabot, 10; Raleigh's attempts to colonize, 23; part of the London Company's grant, 32; a royal colony, 35, 92 (see Carolina); settlement of North Carolina, 93; its government, 94; manner of life of its people, 96; military operations in it during the Revolution, 250, 251, 253; western claims, 271; ceded to the United States, 273; refuses at first to ratify the Constitution, 286; ratifies it in 1790, 302; secedes, 626; one of the Confederate States, 628; military operations in, 636, 652, 716, 728-9, 734; reconstructed and readmitted, 762.
 North Dakota, 835.
 North Point, battle of, 387.
 Northwest Passage, the, anxiety of our forefathers to find it, 21; what has taken its place, 783.
 Northwest Territory, the, claimed by Virginia for herself, 271; by the other States for the United States, 272; ceded to the United States, 273; unsettled in 1786, 291; settlement begun by land companies, 292; Congress arranges a government for it, 274; the Indian title got rid of, 308; the British possession abandoned, 309; the Indians defeated, 350; its population in 1812, 353; roads, 354; the whole Territory surrendered by Hull, 356; regained by the Americans, 361.
 Norwalk (nor'wak), Conn., attacked by the British, 214, 245.
 Nova Scotia, settled by the French, 19 (see Acadia); taken and held by the English, 71-2, 146; a refuge for the Tories, 266.
 Nueces (noo-ä'sēz) River, the, 524.
 Nullification, 475-7.

OCEAN STEAMERS, one crosses the Atlantic in 1819, 337, note; no more until 1838, 447.

Ocean telegraph, final success, 772.

Office-holders, Federal, discharged under Jackson for not belonging to the successful party, 467; the Tenure of Office Act, 766; the natural

Office-holders—Continued.

results of the system, 794; reforms in it, 819.
 Ogdensburgh, N. Y., 139, 363.
 Ogeechee (ō-gē'ehē) River, the, 713.
 Uglethorpe (o'gl-thorp), Gen. James, the founder of Georgia, 103; death, 106, note.
 Ohio, claimed by Virginia, 271; settlement, 291, 314; under the Ordinance of 1787, 274; the Indian title got rid of, 308; growth of the State, 313; difficulties of early settlement in it, 314; admission, 336.
 Ohio Company, of 1750, 141; of 1787, 292.
 Oil. See Petroleum.
 Okechobee (o-kē-cho'bē), battle of, 463.
 "Old Dominion," the, a name for Virginia, 80, note.
 Oklahoma, 846.
 "Old Hickory," a name for Jackson, 441.
 "Old Ironsides," a name for the Constitution, 366, note.
 Oliver, Andrew, 169.
 Olney, Richard, 863.
 Olustee (o-lus'tē), battle of, 715.
 Omaha (o'ma-haw), Neb., 783.
 Omnibus Bill, the, 554.
 Oneidas (o-ni'daz), an Indian tribe, 3.
 Onondagas (o-nōn-daw'gaz), an Indian tribe, 3.
 Orders in Council, adopted, 343; not openly surrendered by the treaty of Ghent, 401.
 Ordinance of 1787, the, 274.
 Oregon (or'ē-gōn) (see Oregon Country), admission, 587; Indian war in it, 785.
 Oregon Country, the, explored by Lewis and Clarke, 335; Americans begin to settle in it, 503; Great Britain claims it, 504; the claim compromised, 523.
 Orinoco (o-ri-no'ko) River, the, 8.
 Oriskany (o-ris'ka-nl), battle of, 220.
 Osceola (ōs-e-o'la), a Florida Indian chief, 463.
 Ossabaw Sound, 714.
 Ostend (ōs-tend'), Circular, the, 570.
 Otis, Gen. E. S., in the Philippines, 900.
 Otis (o'tis), James, a Massachusetts orator, 165; becomes insane, 169.
 PACIFIC RAILROADS, Congress orders surveys in 1853, 562; the work on the Central begun in 1862 and finished in 1869, 783; the Northern and Southern Pacific, 783; scandals connected with them, 794, note; connection with the government ended, 890.
 Packenham (pak'n-am), Sir Edward, in command of the British expedition against New Orleans, 399; defeated and killed, 399.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages

- Pago-Pago (pā'gō-pā'gō), a Samoan harbor, 894.
- Paine (pane), Thomas, 204.
- Palmer, Gen. John M., nominated for President, 865.
- Palo Alto (pah'lo ahl'to), battle of, 526.
- Palos (pah'los), Columbus's point of departure, 6.
- Panama (pan-a-mah') Canal, 834.
- Panay (pa-nay'), 900.
- Panic, meaning of the term, 485; the panic of 1837, 496; of 1857, 585; of 1873, 781, 794, 804; of 1893, 855.
- Paper Money or Currency, danger of excessive issues, 233; excessive issues by the Continental Congress, 233-4; State paper, 286; State banks, 484; results of their issues, 485; paper in the Civil War, 670; in the Confederacy, 690, 721; demands of the Greenback Party, 797; abandonment of an exclusively paper currency, 813.
- Parliament, the governing body of England, 40; abolishes the monarchy for a time, 41; defects of its membership, 160; claims the right to tax the colonies, 161; gives no representation to the colonies, 162; its regulation of the colonies, 163; passes the Stamp Act, 164; repeals it, 167; still refuses representation to the colonies, 168; lays a commercial tax on the colonies, 169; provoked with the resistance to it, 172; reduces the tax to a tea tax, 173; tries to punish resistance, 175; war between Parliament and Congress, 190; proposes conciliation, 202; not mentioned in the Declaration of Independence, 206; offers representation to the colonies, 227; compels the king to make peace with the United States, 262.
- Parties, formation of, in 1787, 285; only one party left in 1789, 303; first great change in party control of the government, 330; only one party left in 1816, 409, 427; it begins to split, 433; divides into two parties, 437; party excitement under Jackson, 466; party changes about 1850, 560; re-formation of parties, 576; the parties in 1860, 668; on the war, 723; on reconstruction, 768; on support of reconstructed governments, 796; decadence of party differences, 797; on Free Trade and Protection, 826, 838, 854; on Silver (see party names: Democratic, Republican, Federalist, Whig, National Republican, Liberty, Free-Soil, American, Liberal Republican, Greenback, People's).
- Patents, issue of, 312; their effect on invention, 338; on the wealth of the country, 591.
- Paterson, N. J., growth from manufactures, 450.
- Patriot War, the, in Canada, 496.
- Patroons, the system introduced by the Dutch, 112; its effects in the Revolution, 207; end of the system, 514.
- Peacock, the, an English war-vessel, sunk by the *Hornet*, 370; an American war-vessel, takes the *Epervier*, 374; and the *Nautilus*, 375.
- Pea Ridge, battle of, 647.
- Peekskill, N. Y., the end of Washington's retreat from New York, 209; Lee left in charge of it, 210; too strong for the British, 218; Washington holds it throughout the war, 229.
- Peel, Sir Robert, and the police, 595, note.
- Pelican, the, takes the *Argus*, 372.
- Pemberton, Gen. J. C., in command at Vicksburg, 680; surrenders to Grant, 682.
- Pendleton, George H., nominated for Vice-President, 723.
- Penguin, the, taken by the *Hornet*, 375.
- Peninsular Campaign, the, 659-63.
- Penitentiaries, a reform in the punishment of criminals, 461.
- Penn. William, obtains a grant of land for a colony, 121; comes to America and settles Philadelphia, 123; settles the government, 124; connection of his family with the colony and State, 125.
- Pennsylvania, soil conquered from the Dutch, 34; a proprietary colony, 35; granted to Penn, 121; settlement of the colony, 123; the government settled, 124; growth of the colony, 127; Braddock's march through the colony, 146; military operations during the Revolution, 210, 216-17, 232; insurrection in the western part of the State, 307; coal, 291, 338; railroads, 429; iron, 291, 511; military operations during the Civil War, 675-7; railroad riots, 806, 853.
- Pennsylvania Hall, destroyed by a mob, 493.
- Pennsylvania, University of, founded, 126.
- Pensacola (pen-sə-ko'la), Fla., seized by Jackson, 398, 414; fort saved, 617.
- Pensions, to Revolutionary soldiers, 234, note; to Union soldiers, 747; amount of, 748; vetoes, 830; Dependent Pension Bill, 844.
- "People's Party," 826, note, 865, 870, 906.
- Peoria (pe-o'ri-a), Ill., a French post, 139; taken by the Americans, 361.
- Peorias, an Indian tribe, 3.
- Pequots (pe'kwotz), a Connecticut tribe of Indians, 59.
- Perry, Commodore M. C., opens up Japan, 569.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Perry, Commodore O. H., captures a British fleet off Sandusky, on Lake Erie, 381.
 Perryville, battle of, 644.
 Perth Amboy, N. J., settlement of, 119.
 Peru (pe-roo'), an Indian empire, 2; conquered by Spain, 7.
 Petersburg, Va., threatened by Butler, 700; reached by Grant, 704; its fortifications, 704; besieged by Grant, 730; captured, 732.
 Petition, right of, impeded by Congress, 494.
 Petroleum, not known in 1790, 288; in Pennsylvania, 511, 590.
 Philadelphia, settlement, 123; growth, 126; the taxed tea, 174; First Continental Congress, 177; Second Continental Congress, 191; abandoned by Congress, 211; Howe moves toward it by sea, 215; takes it, 216; makes it his winter quarters, 216; Clinton, his successor, leaves it for New York, 228; the revolted troops set out for it, 239; Washington and Rochambeau pass through it, 258; the Convention of 1787, 279; the city in 1787, 288; time of travel to New York, 290; made the national capital for ten years, 299; capital removed to Washington, 324; slavery riot, 493; threatened by Lee, 665; relieved by the battle of Antietam, 666; again threatened by Lee, 675; relieved by the battle of Gettysburg, 677; the Centennial celebration, 787.
 Philadelphia, the, captured and burned, 342.
 Philip, King, his struggle against the whites, 68.
 Philippines, the, transferred to the United States by Spain, 885, 900; military operations in, 900; control left in the President's hands by Congress, 901; establishment of municipal governments, 901; present conditions in, 901; influence on Porto Rican tariff question, 904; their retention gives rise to the question of "expansion," 905.
 Phillips, Gen., in command of the British forces in Virginia, 252.
 Phœbe (fē'bē), the, aids in capturing the *Essex*, 373.
 Pickens, Col. Andrew, an American officer in South Carolina, 245.
 Pierce (peerse or purse), Franklin, elected President, 563.
 Pike's Peak, discovery of gold, 590.
 Pilgrims, the, the first settlers of Plymouth, 46.
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, nominated for President, 323, 339, note.
 Pirates in New York, 114.
 Pitcairn (pit'karn), Major John, at Lexington, 181.
 Pitt, William, his management of the
 Pitt, William—*Continued*.
 French and Indian War, 148; favors colonial representation in Parliament, 167.
 Pittsburgh Landing, battle of, 642.
 Pittsburgh, Pa., unsettled in 1745, 127; originally a fort of the Ohio Company, taken by the French, 143; retaken by the English and named Pittsburgh, 148; the Whiskey Insurrection, 307; the first steamboat on the Ohio River, 337; the railroad riots, 806.
 Plattsburgh, battle of, 382.
 Pleasant Hill, battle of, 715.
 Ploughs, in 1787, 289 (see *Agricultural Machinery*).
 Plymouth (plim'uth), part of the Plymouth Company's grant, 33; location and settlement, 45; history, 46; leaders, 47; union with Massachusetts Bay, 54.
 Plymouth Company, the, chartered, 25; loses its charter, 33.
 Plymouth, N. C., the *Albemarle* blown up, 716.
 Poe, Edgar A., his literary work, 458.
 Poitiers (poi-teers'), the, captures the *Wasp* and *Frolic*, 368.
 Police, a new system introduced, 595.
 Polk (poke), James K., elected President, 515; orders Taylor to the Rio Grande, 524; blamed by the Whigs for the Mexican War, 527; death, 558.
 Polygamy, having more than one wife at the same time, practised by the Mormons, 495; contrary to law in the Territories, 586; decreases, 822; virtually suppressed, 862.
 Pontiac (pon'ti-ak), an Indian chief, 152.
 Pope's campaign, 664.
 Population. See *Census*.
 Populists. See *People's Party*.
 Porter, Admiral D. D., at New Orleans, 716.
 Porter, Capt. David, in command of the *Essex*, 366, 373.
 Port Hudson, La., its fortifications, 655; its surrender, 682.
 Porto Rico, occupied by the American army, 883; ceded to the United States by Spain, 885; transferred to the United States, 903; administrative and legal reforms, 903; tariff for, 904.
 Port Royal, N. S., a French stronghold, taken and kept by the English, 72.
 Port Royal, S. C., the French colony, 18; reached by an English colony, 97; captured by the Union fleet, 636; a harbor for the blockaders, 637; an expedition sent from it to Florida, 715.
 Portsmouth, N. H., settlement, 55.
 Portsmouth, R. I., settlement, 62.
 Portsmouth, Va., plundered by the British, 245.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Portugal, explores the west coast of Africa, 4; refuses aid to Columbus, 5; agreement with Spain, 12; pays for injuries to American commerce, 464.
- Post-office, in the colonies, 163; under direction of Congress, 281; the Post-office Department, 296; increase of, 452.
- Potomac (po-to'mak) River, the, the first Maryland settlement, 86; its upper country unsettled in 1750, 142; the Union line in 1861, 629; Banks driven up to it, 662; Lee and McClellan cross it into Maryland, 665; recross it into Virginia, 666; Lee again crosses it, 675; recrosses it into Virginia, 678.
- Potomac, Army of the, organized, 633; transferred to the Peninsula, 657; divided by the Chickahominy, 659; fights the Seven Days' Battles, 663; transferred back to the front of Washington, 664; fights the battle of Antietam, 666; Fredericksburgh, 667; Chancellorsville, 674; Gettysburgh, 677; Grant takes command, 698; fights the battles of the Wilderness, 701; besieges Petersburg, 704, 730; takes it, 732; pursues and captures Lee's army, 733; is reviewed at Washington, 735.
- Pottawatomies (pot-a-wot'a-miz), an Indian tribe, 3.
- Prescott, Col. William, in command of Bunker Hill, 194.
- Prescott, William H., his literary work, 458.
- President, the, his legislative power, 281; executive powers, 282; appointing power, 283 (see Tenure of Office Act, Civil Service); mode of election, 295; veto power, 469, note; succession, 818, 831 (see Impeachment). (For list of Presidents, see Table of Contents.)
- President, the, and the *Little Belt*, 349, note; captured by a British fleet, 375.
- Presque Isle (presk eel), Pa., a French post, 142.
- Press Associations introduced, 518.
- Prima Vista (prē'ma vee'ta), 10.
- Princeton College, founded, 120.
- Princeton, N. J., Washington passes through it in retreat, 210; returns and takes it, 212.
- Printing, in Virginia, 84; in Philadelphia, 126; first press in America, 158; improvements in, 518.
- Prisoners of war, their sufferings in the Revolution, 232; in Confederate prisons, 725; deaths, 747.
- Prisons, the former brutal system, 461; reformation, 465.
- Prison-ships, 232.
- Privateers, in 1760, 153; in the Revolution, 197, 240, 243; definition, 240; refusal to allow France to fit out, 306; in the War of 1812, 376.
- Privateers, Confederate, why they were allowed to make captures, 625, 627; their destruction of American commerce, 672, 666, 720; capture of three of them, 720 (see Alabama Claims).
- Proctor, Gen. Henry, in command of the British forces in the West, 359-60; defeated, 361.
- Prohibition Party, 826, note, 854.
- Proprietors, 35.
- Protection, why it was first demanded, 406 (see Free Trade, Tariff); definition, and argument for, 425; Congress adopts it in 1824, 426; supported by Clay and Adams (see American System); opposed by Jackson, 470, 476; supported by the Whig Party, 471; opposed by the South, 436, 474, 605; gradually abandoned by Congress after 1833, 478; again adopted in 1842, 501; again abandoned in 1846, 521; resumed in 1861, 691; still maintained, 825; attitude of the parties in 1888, 836; in 1892, 854; reduced by the Wilson Bill, 859; increased by the Dingley Bill, 870; enforced against Porto Rico, 904; upheld by the Republican platform in 1900, 906.
- Protectorate. See Commonwealth.
- Providence, R. I., part of the Plymouth Company's grant, 33; settlement, 62; the *Gaspée* affair, 171.
- Public schools, provision for them in Ordinance of 1787, 274; established in the States, 455, 465; in 1860, 593.
- Puebla (poo-ā'blah), Mex., taken by Scott, 542.
- Puget's (pu'jet's) Sound, 783.
- Pulaski (pu-las'ki), Casimir, joins the American army, 214; death, 244.
- Pullman, Ill., 858.
- Puritans, the, support the Commonwealth, 41; not separated from the Church of England, 48; found the colony of Massachusetts Bay, 48.
- QUAKERS, the, why they were persecuted in Massachusetts, 52; Penn obtains a colony for them, 21; why they had been persecuted in England, 122.
- Quebec (kwē-bek'), attempt to settle it, 18; successful, 19; a French stronghold, 72; taken by Wolfe, 151; one of the four governmental divisions of the territory ceded to England by the Peace of Paris, 154; repulses the Americans, 200.
- Quebec Act, the, 175.
- Queenstown Heights, battle of, 357.
- RAIDS, of Jackson and Stuart, 662; of Morgan, 684; against Sherman, 707.
- Railroads, how they have given value to the Louisiana purchase, 334; put an end to the National Road, 423; Trevithick's and Stephenson's en-

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Railroads—Continued.

gines, 429; their effect on the American people, 442; American engines, 443; increase of railroads, 444; their advantages, 445; use of anthracite coal, 446; assist immigration, 452 (see Pacific Railroads); effects in improving roads and bridges, 566; the panic of 1857, 585; increase in thirty years, 588; effects on the West, 589; defects in the South, 596; damage in the Civil War, 690, 731 (see Raids); railroad-building in Grant's first administration, 780; panic of 1873, 781; the Pacific Railroad system, 783; end of the panic, 804; railroad strikes and riots, 806.

Raisin, battle of the river, 359.

Raleigh (raw'll), Sir Walter, his personality and services, 22; attempts to colonize North Carolina, 23.

Randolph, Edmund, Attorney-General, 296.

Randolph, John, on the terrors of slave insurrection, 603.

Ranger, the, an American war-vessel, 240.

Rawdon, Lord, in command of the British in South Carolina, 254.

Reaping-machine, 338, 448.

Reciprocity, 842.

Reconcentrados (ray-con-sen-trah'-dōs), the, 874, 875.

Reconstruction, its difficulties, 753; the President's plan, 754-6; the treatment of the freedmen, 758; Southern members not admitted to Congress, 759; Tennessee reconstructed and readmitted, 760; the Republicans retain control of Congress, 760; form their plan of reconstruction, 760; and pass it, 761; six additional States reconstructed and readmitted, 762; the four remaining States reconstructed and readmitted, 788; disorder in the reconstructed States, 789-90; use of Federal troops to suppress it, 791; what reconstruction had done for the freedmen, 793; the parties on reconstruction, 795-6; the use of Federal troops abandoned, 802; how far the plan of reconstruction has failed, 804.

Red River, the, visited by De Soto, 14; by Banks, 715.

Reed, Thomas B., Speaker of the House of Representatives, 870.

Regulators, the, fight Governor Tryon, 91.

Reid, Capt. S. C., in command of the *General Armstrong*, 376.

Reid, Whitelaw, 854.

Reindeer, the, taken by the *Wasp*, 374.

Remonetization of silver, 812.

Removal of the deposits, 469.

Representation of the States in Congress, 281.

Representation, slave, adopted into the Constitution, 284; effects, 508.

Representatives, House of, legislative powers, 281; powers of impeachment, 282; elects a President, 323, 427; impeaches Johnson, 767; refuses to give the Cubans belligerent rights, 873.

Reprisal, the, an American war-vessel, 240.

Republican Party (of 1792), the, its formation, 303; its purposes, 304; change in views, 346; opposes the Alien and Sedition laws, 321; elects Jefferson and Burr, 323; obtains control of the government in 1801, 331; re-elects Jefferson, 339; opposes a navy, 344; successful in 1808, 346; in 1812, 351; in 1816, 409; the only party left in 1820, 413 (see Democratic Party).

Republican Party (of 1856), the, its formation, 576; obtains control of the House of Representatives, 580; defeated in 1856, 582; its attitude in 1860, 608; successful in 1860, 609; in 1864, 723; its attitude on reconstruction, 759; successful in 1868, 768; in 1872, 796; in 1876-7, 801; in 1888, 840; defeated in 1884, 826; in 1892, 854; successful in 1896, 865; in 1900, 906.

Repudiation, meaning of the term, 489.

Ressaca de la Palma (rā-sah'kah dā lah pahl'mah), battle of, 526.

Resaca, battle of, 706.

Restoration, the English, 42.

Resumption of specie payments, 813.

Returning Boards, 798.

Revenge, the, war-vessel, 240.

Revenue, the Federal, its trifling amount under the Articles of Confederation, 275; provided for in the Constitution, 281; raised by duties on imported goods and on some domestic products, 299; by a whiskey tax, 307; increase of, 333; decrease during the War of 1812, 354-5; increase after the peace, 407; deposited in the Bank of the United States, 408; increase, 1831-5, 452; more than the needs of government required, 453; removal from the Bank, 469; the panic of 1837 destroys the revenue, 487; during the Civil War, 748; influence on the tariff question, 825; tobacco and intoxicating liquors alone subject to taxation, 836.

Revolt of the American troops, 239.

Revolution, the American, its first blood, 181; the results, 183; the war at first against Parliament, 190-1; in New England, 194; independence, 204-6; in the North, 207-23, 228-32, 237-39; aid from France, 224-7; the war on the ocean, 240-2; in the South, 244-61; peace, 262-6.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Revolution, the English, 42.
 Revolution, the French, 43, 395.
 Rhode Island, part of the Plymouth Company's grant, 33; a charter colony, 35; the banishment of Williams, 51; settlement, 62; refused admission to the New England Union, 66; the "swamp fight," 69; the *Gaspee* affair, 171; the College of, 187; military operations in, 214, 230-2, 247, 259; no western claims, 271; not represented in the Federal Convention, 278; refuses to ratify the Constitution, 286; ratifies, 297; the Dorr Rebellion, 513.
 Rice, in South Carolina, 98; a Southern product, 316.
 Richard, the, 242.
 Richmond, Va., Burr's trial, 340; capital of the Confederate States, 628; threatened by McDowell, 632; its fortifications, 633, 704; threatened by way of the Peninsula, 657; relieved by the Seven Days' Battles, 663; again threatened by way of Fredericksburgh, 669; by way of Chancellorsville, 674; by Butler, 700; cut off from Lynchburgh by Sheridan, 731; captured by Grant, 732.
 Rich Mountain, battle of, 630.
 Rio Grande (ré'o grahn'dá), the, 524.
 Riots, draft, 693; railroad, 806; Chinese, 815; Cincinnati, 823.
 Ripley, Gen. James W., an officer in the American Army, 364; at Lundy's Lane, 392.
 Rivers and harbors, 434.
 Roads, in 1750, 133; in 1787, 290; turnpike roads, 312; roads in Ohio in 1790, 314; roads in 1812, 354; on the great lakes, 379; in 1824, 422; the National Road, 423; the American System, 434; how railroads have influenced them, 442, 566.
 Roanoke (ró-a-nóke') Island, N. C., the scene of Raleigh's colonies, 23; Newport sent thither, 31; Confederate forts captured, 652.
 Robertson, James, a Tennessee pioneer, 157, note.
 Robinson, John, pastor of the Pilgrims in Holland, 47.
 Rochambeau (ró-shahn(g)-bô'), Count de, lands with an army at Newport, 257; takes part in the capture of Cornwallis, 260.
 Rochester, N. Y., not on the maps in 1812, 354; its growth, 405.
 Rome, N. Y., 220.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, nominated for Vice-President, 906.
 Root, Elihu, Secretary of War, 898.
 Rosecrans (roze'krans), Gen. W. S., in command of the Union forces in West Virginia, 630; at Murfreesboro, 645, 679; pursues Bragg, 685; at Chickamauga, 685.

Ross, Gen. Robert, killed at Baltimore, 387.
 Rules, struggle over the, 841.
 Rush, Richard, nominated for Vice-President, 438.
 Russia, mediates between Great Britain and the United States, 400; sells Alaska to the United States, 773; peace proposals, 897.
 Rutgers College, 187.
 SABINE (sa-been') CROSS ROADS, battle of, 715.
 Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., attacked by the British, 362.
 Sacramento (sak-ra-men'to) River, discovery of gold on, 549.
 Sacs and Foxes, 3.
 Sagasta ministry, the, policy in Cuba, 874.
 St. Alban's, Vt., plundered by a party from Canada, 724, note.
 St. Augustine (aw-gus-teen'), Fla., founded, 17; captured by a force from South Carolina, 101; besieged by Oglethorpe, 106; captured by the Union forces, 652.
 St. Clair's defeat, 308.
 St. Genevieve (jen-é-veev'), Mo., 155.
 St. John, J. P., nominated for President, 826, note.
 St. Kitt's, W. I., 319.
 St. Lawrence, the river, discovered, 11; held by the French, 18-19.
 St. Louis (loo'Is), Mo., founded, 155; riots, 806; trust conference, 891.
 St. Paul, Minn., 451.
 Salem (sá'lem), Mass., settled, 48; witchcraft, 53.
 Salt, found at Syracuse, N. Y., 511.
 Saltillo (sahl-teel'yo), Mex., 532.
 Salt Lake City, founded by the Mormons, 586, 862.
 Samoa, 834, 894.
 Sampson, Rear-Admiral Wm. T., in command at Santiago, 882; bombard San Juan, Porto Rico, 883.
 San Antonio, Mex., 539; Tex., 531.
 San Domingo, attempt to annex it, 778, 794.
 Sandusky (sân-dus'ki), O., Fort Stephenson, 360; Perry's victory, 381.
 Sandwich Islands, proposed annexation of, 852.
 Sandy Hook, N. J., 213, 228.
 San Francisco, Cal., its fine harbor, 528; taken by the American fleet, 529; sudden growth of the city, 580; the Pacific Railroad system, 783.
 San Gabriel, battle of, 529.
 Sanitary Commission, the, 692.
 San Jacinto (ja-sin'tô), battle of, 506.
 San Jacinto, the, arrests the *Trent*, 638.
 San Juan (sahn Hoo-ahn'), Cuba, the battle of, 882.
 San Juan, Porto Rico, bombarded, 883.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

San Juan de Ulloa (sahn Hoo-ahn' dâ ool-yo'ah), 535.
 San Salvador (sahn sahl-vah-dore'), 6.
 Santa Anna, commands the Mexican troops in Texas, 506; at Buena Vista, 532; at Cerro Gordo, 536; flees from the city of Mexico, 544.
 Santa Fé (san'ta fâ), N. M., founded, 17; taken by the American forces, 529.
 Santiago (sahnt-ê-ah'go) campaign, the, 882.
 Saratoga, Burgoyne's surrender at, 222.
 Sault Ste. Marie (-soo san(g) mah-rê), French settlement, 137.
 Savage's Station, battle of, 663.
 Savannah, Ga., settled, 104; taken by the British, 244; held by them through the Revolution, 254; evacuated, 264; taken by Sherman, 714; he leaves it on his march northward, 728.
 Savannah, the, steams across the Atlantic, 337, note.
 Saybrook, Conn., settlement, 57.
Scarboro, The Countess of, taken by Paul Jones's fleet, 242.
 Schenectady (sken-ek'ta-di), N. Y., a frontier settlement, 110; founded, 117; still on the frontier in 1787, 291.
 Schley (shll), Rear-Admiral W. S., at Santiago, 882.
 Schools. See Public Schools.
 Schuyler (skil'er), Gen. Philip, in command of the American forces in Canada, 200; against Burgoyne, 218; succeeded by Gates, 221; the credit due to him goes to Gates, 223.
 Scott, Winfield, his services in 1814, 364; at the battle of Chippewa, 392; wounded at Lundy's Lane, 392; services in Maine, 497; sent to Mexico, 534; takes Vera Cruz, 535; marches to the city of Mexico, 537; takes Mexico, 542; nominated for President, 563; in command of the Union armies, 629; retired, 633.
 Screw propeller, invented, 447.
 Seals, taking of, in Bering Sea, 848.
 Search, the right of, asserted by Great Britain, 343; not expressly given up in 1815, 401; resisted by Great Britain in 1861, 638.
 Secession, the argument for it, 475; threatened in 1850, 552; not probable in 1856, 583; South Carolina secedes in 1860, 610; the secessionists in other States, 611; their arguments for secession, 612; the first secession of 1861, 613; the second, or border State, secession of 1861, 626.
 Sections, the, produced by slavery, 416; their positions on the American System, 435; as to Abolition, 492; as to Texas, 507; as to slave representation, 508; as to the Mexican acquisition, 545; as to state

Sections—Continued.

sovereignty and secession, 552; as to California, 553; increasing influence of slavery, 571; their positions as to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 575; as to Kansas, 578; their final positions, 605-7; as to the Civil War, 749; as to reconstruction, 753.
 Sedition Law, the, 321.
 Seminoles (sem'n-nôlz), the, a Florida tribe, 414.
 Semmes (semz), Capt. Raphael, 720.
 Senate, the, its formation, 281; its legislative powers, 281; increased by the Tenure of Office Act, 766; impeachment of Johnson, 767; passes resolution giving the Cubans belligerent rights, 873.
 Senecas (sen'ê-kaz), 3.
 Separatists, a name for the Pilgrims, 45.
Serapis (se-râ'pis), the, taken by the *Richard*, 242.
 Sergeant (sahr'jent), John, 473.
 Sewall, Arthur, nominated for Vice-President, and defeated, 866.
 Seward (soo'erd), William H., an antislavery leader, 558; wounded, 737.
 Sewing-machine, 517.
 Seven Days' Battles, 663.
 Seven Pines, battle of, 660.
 Seymour (sê'mur), Horatio, nominated for President, 768.
 Shafter, Gen. Wm. R., in command of land forces at Santiago, 882.
 Shannon, the, takes the *Chesapeake*, 372.
 Sharpsburgh, battle of, 666.
 Shawnees (shaw-neez'), 3.
 Shays's Rebellion, 276.
 Shenandoah (shen-an-dô'ah) valley, the, held by Johnston, 632; Jackson drives Banks out of it, 662; Lee passes through it, 675; Early passes through it, 703; is beaten by Sheridan, 705; Sheridan passes through it on his way to Grant, 731.
 Sheridan, Gen. Philip H., beats Early, 705; cuts off Richmond from its western supports and joins Grant, 731.
 Sherman, John, Secretary of State, 869.
 Sherman, Roger, a member of the Continental Congress, 192; on the committee to draft the Declaration, 206.
 Sherman, Gen. Wm. T., one of Grant's trusted officers, 679; at the Yazoo River, 681; moves toward Atlanta, 706; leaves Hood to Thomas, 710; burns Atlanta, 712; marches through Georgia, 713; takes Savannah, 714; marches northward to Goldsboro, 728-9; seizes Raleigh, and receives Johnston's surrender, 734; results of his march, 745.
 Shiloh, battle of, 642.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Ship Island, Miss., 636, 654.
 Shreveport, La., 715.
 Sigel (sĕ'gĕl), Gen. Franz, in the Shenandoah valley, 700; defeated, 703.
 Sigbee, Capt. Chas. D., in command of the *Maine*, 877.
 Silver, discovered in Nevada, 590; large yield, 780; decline in its value compared with gold, 810; demonetized, 811; remonetized, 812; Act of July 14, 1890, 843; again demonetized, 856; "free silver" in 1896, 865; in 1900, 906.
 Sioux (soo) wars, 673, 785.
 Sioux Falls, S. D., 906.
 Sirius, the, 447.
 Sitting Bull, 785.
 Six Nations, 3, 73.
 Skenesboro, N. Y., 219.
 Slavery, introduced in Virginia and maintained by the English kings, 39; forbidden in Vermont, 188; slavery in New England, 75; in Georgia, 105; in New York, 115; in 1775, 188; an element of weakness in the South in the Revolution, 236; slavery provisions in the Constitution, 284; forbidden in the Northwest Territory, 274; position of Congress definitely stated, 301; effects of the cotton-gin, 316; in the two sections in 1820, 415-6; in Louisiana, 415; in Missouri, 417; in the Territories, 418; effects of slavery on manufactures, 435, 597; in Arkansas, 454; proposal to abolish slavery (see Abolitionists); riots, 493; petition, 494; slavery in Texas, 505; State representation in Congress, 508; the slavery question becomes more pressing, 516; in the Mexican acquisition, 545; positions of the sections, 545; attempt to prohibit, 546; rise of the Free-Soil Party, 547; slavery in California, 553; political questions of 1850, 553; compromised, 555; the Fugitive Slave Law, 556; anti-slavery leaders, 558; influence of slavery on public affairs, 571; how the Democratic Party escaped it for the time, 573; the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 574; the Republican Party, 576; slavery in Kansas, 578-80; election of 1856, 583; effects of slavery on the South, 597, 605; in the Territories, 598; the Dred Scott decision, 600; the effect on the Democratic Party, 602, 608; the John Brown raid, 604; the sections in 1860, 606-7, 612; parties, 608; emancipation, 609; results abroad, 671; the object of the war, 749; abolition by Amendment, 757; after-effects, 758; free labor in the South, 824.
 Slave-trade, the foreign, in 1775, 188; in 1787, 279.
 Slaughter (slaw'ter), Gov. Henry, 113.

Smith, John, 77.
 Smith, Joseph, 495.
 Smithsonian Institution, the, 519.
 "Sons of Liberty," 165.
 Soto, Hernando de, 14.
 South Carolina, discovered, 9; part of the London Company's grant, 32; settled, 97; products, 98; districts, 99; early wars, 101-2; has troops at Fort Mifflin, 145; in 1775 and 1880, 184; military operations in the State during the Revolution, 203, 245-51, 254, 264; Western claims, 271; ceded to the United States, 273; nullification, 476-7; secedes, 610; military operations in, 622, 636, 688, 728; reconstructed and readmitted, 762; disorders in, 790.
 Spain, aids Columbus, 5; secures his discoveries, 7; further Spanish discoveries, 9; agreement with Portugal, 12; explorations in the interior of North America, 13, 14; conquers Mexico, 14; explores the Pacific coast, 15; drives the French from St. Augustine, 18; colonies south of the United States, 30; early wars with, 101, 106; enters the war in 1762, 153; gives up Florida and receives Louisiana, 154-5; enters the Revolutionary War against Great Britain, 227, note; regains Florida, 263; agrees by treaty to the free navigation of the Mississippi, 315; transfers Louisiana to France, 334; the Spanish in Florida aid the British, 398; Spain transfers Florida, 414; refuses to sell Cuba, 570; joins France against Mexico, 695; the *Virginian* case, 779; war with Cuba, 863; policy toward Cuba, 874, 878; war with the United States, 879; her Asiatic fleet destroyed at Manila, 881; signs treaty of peace at Paris, 885; transfers the Philippines to the United States, 900; transfers the control of Cuba to the United States, 902; withdraws her troops from Cuba, 902; transfers Porto Rico to the United States, 903.
 Spanish War, the, declaration of war, 879; preparations for war, 880; battle of Manila Bay, 881; the Santiago campaign, 882; occupation of Porto Rico, 883; friction with the Cubans, 884; peace, 885; finances of the war, 886.
 Specie Circular, the, 485.
 Specie payments resumed, 1879, 813.
 Spoils system, the, defined, 467.
 Spottsylvania Court-house, battle of, 701.
 Springfield, Ill., 738.
 Springfield, Mass., 276.
 Stamp Act, the, passed by Parliament, 164; resisted, 166; repealed, 167.
 Stamp Act Congress, the, 166.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Stamp duties before the Revolution, 164; in 1808, 886.
- Standish, Miles, the soldier of the Plymouth colony, 47.
- Stanton, E. M., removed by Johnson, 766.
- Stark, John, at Bennington, 220.
- Star of the West*, the, driven back from Fort Sumter, 617.
- Star-Spangled Banner, the, 387, note.
- State Department, the, 298.
- Staten (stāt'n) Island, N. Y., occupied by the British, 207; held by them during the war, 229, 231; threatened by Washington, 258.
- States, the, the formation of State governments, 204; whence they derived their authority, 269; their action restricted by the Articles of Confederation, 270; boundary disputes, 271-2; send delegates to a Federal Convention, 279; restrictions on their action under the Constitution, 281; new States and Amendments, 284; their ratification of the Constitution, 286; the great States of the Northwest, 274; the electoral system, 295; the Republicans incline to favor the States, 304; slave States, 415; the Western States in 1835, 449; the Eastern States, 450; the States go into internal improvements, 453; distinction between State Rights and State Sovereignty, 475; the right of the States to secede, 475; to nullify the laws of the United States, 480, 476; how State representation in Congress was related to slavery, 508; the right of voting in the States, 513; proposed annexation of slave States, 570; the Kansas struggle between free and slave States, 578-80; secession of a part of the States, 610 (see Secession); the work of the State conventions, 614; of the doctrine of State Sovereignty, 615; action of the border States, 626; the Southern State governments overthrown, 755; reconstructed, 762 (see Reconstruction).
- Steamboat, the, Fitch's attempt to produce one, 312; need of a steamboat on Western rivers, 315, note; in the Louisiana purchase, 334; Fulton's success, 337; put to use on American rivers, 405, 422; builds up Western towns, 449; put to use on the ocean, 337, note, 447; facilitates migration, 452.
- Steam war-vessels, Fulton's attempt, 384; the screw propeller, 447.
- Stephens, Alexander H., elected Vice-President of the Confederate States, 614.
- Stevenson, Adlai E., Vice-President, 854; renominated for Vice-President, 906.
- Steuben (stoi'ben), Baron von, 214.
- Stewart, Capt. Charles, in command of the *Constitution*, 375.
- Stillwater, the battle of, 222.
- Stone River, battle of, 645.
- Stone, Samuel, a Connecticut pioneer, 50.
- Stonington, Conn., attacked by the British, 384.
- Stony Point, capture of, 237.
- Story, William, a distinguished American lawyer, 459.
- Strikes, the Railroad, 806, 853, 858.
- Stuart, Gen. J. E. B., a Confederate cavalry officer, 662.
- Stuyvesant (sti've-sant), Peter, the last Dutch governor of New Netherland, 109.
- Suffrage (or vote), the right of, 789.
- Sullivan, Gen. John, in command of the attack on Newport, 230; chastises the hostile Indians, 232.
- Sulu (zoo'-loo), Archipelago, the, 901.
- Sumner, Charles, an antislavery leader, 558; assault upon him, 581.
- Sumter, Gen. Thomas, a Revolutionary leader in South Carolina, 248, 250.
- Supreme Court, the, its duties, 283, 599; established, 298; decides the question of slavery in the Territories, 600; its decision rejected, 601; the income tax decision, 860; Anti-Trust Act decision, 891.
- Surplus, the, 836.
- Susquehanna (sus-kwē-han'na) River, the, 89.
- Swamp Fight, the, 69.
- Swanzy (swon'zi), Mass., attacked by the Indians, 68.
- Syracuse, N. Y., 354.
- TAGALOS (tā-gā'los), the, a Philippine tribe, 900.
- Tampa Bay, Fla., 14, 880.
- Taney (taw'nē), Roger B., Chief Justice, 481.
- Tariff (see Revenue, Free Trade, Protection), the province of the States under the Confederation, 275; transferred to Congress by the Constitution, 281; the first Tariff, 299; the Protective Tariff of 1824, 426; increased in 1828, 434; the Compromise Tariff of 1833, 476; the semi-protective Tariff of 1842, 501; the Revenue Tariff of 1846, 521; the Protective Tariff of 1861, 691; receipts from it, 748; still maintained, 825; reduced, 859; the Dingley tariff, 870; the Porto Rican tariff, 904.
- Tariff Commission, the, 825.
- Tarleton, Major, a British cavalry officer, 247; beaten at the Cowpens, 251; plunders Virginia, 255.
- Tarrytown, N. Y., 238.
- Taxes, in Great Britain, 161; in the colonies, 162; commercial taxation, 269 (see Parliament); under the

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

Taxes—Continued.

Confederation, 275; under the Constitution, 281; during the Civil War, 691; in the reconstructed States, 789.
 Taylor, Gen. Richard, surrenders, 727.
 Taylor, Zachary, beats the Seminoles at Lake Okechobee, 463; ordered to the Rio Grande, 524; beats the Mexicans and drives them across the Rio Grande, 526; follows to Monterey, 531; deprived of part of his army, 532; wins the battle of Buena Vista, 533; returns to the United States, 533; elected President, 548; death, 557.
 Tea Tax, the, 173.
 Tecumseh (tê-kum'sê), defeated at Tippecanoe, 350; killed at the Thames, 361.
 Tehuantepec (tê-hoo-ahn'tê-pêk), 896.
 Telegraph, the, its invention, 510.
 Telephone, its invention, 805.
 Tennessee, the first settlers from North Carolina, 94, 157, note, 235; North Carolina's claim ceded to the United States, 273; admitted as a State, 302; secedes, 626; occupied by the Union forces, 641; military operations in, 640-3, 645, 648, 685-7, 711; reconstructed, 760.
 Tennessee River, the, reached by De Soto, 14; military operations on, 641, 648.
 Tennessee, the, taken by Farragut, 718.
 Tenure of Office Act, the, its passage and purpose, 766; repealed, 831.
 Territories, the, first cessions by the States to the United States, 273; their government under the Constitution, 284; the Ordinance of 1787, 274; acquisition of Louisiana, 334; of Florida, 414; slavery in the Territories, 415-19 (see Compromises); the Mexican acquisition, 528, 530, 543; polygamy in the Territories, 586, 913; acquisition of Alaska, and summary, 773; acquisition of Hawaii, 888.
 Texas, supposed at first to be a part of the Louisiana purchase, 334, note; the claim of the United States exchanged for Florida, 414; becomes a part of Mexico, but is settled by American citizens, 505; secedes from Mexico, 506; its annexation desired by the South, 507; reasons for the desire, 508; annexation, 516; admission, 522; boundary, 524; compromised, 555; secedes, 613; refuses the first terms of reconstruction, 762; reconstructed and readmitted, 768.
 Thames (temz), battle of the river, 361.
 Third term, refused by Washington, 310.

Thomas, Gen. George H., at Mill Spring, 640; at Chickamauga, 685; sent back to Tennessee, 710; defeats Hood, 711.
 Thornton, Capt., capture of, 525.
 Three Friends, the, seized and forfeited, 873.
 Thurman, A. G., nominated for Vice-President, 840.
 Ticonderoga (tî-kon-dê-rô'ga), held by Montcalm, 148; taken by the English, 150; by Ethan Allen, 199; by Burgoyne, 218.
 Tilden, Samuel J., nominated for President, 797; his election disputed, 798; the decision, 801.
 Tippecanoe (tip-pê-ka-noo'), battle of, 350.
 Titusville, Pa., 590.
 Tobacco, 22, 78.
 Tohopeka (tô-hô-pe'ka), battle of, 396.
 Toledo, O., a French post, 139; Wayne's victory, 308.
 Tompkins, Daniel D., elected Vice-President, 409; re-elected, 413.
 Tories, meaning of the term, 170, 479; in the Middle States, 207; in the South, 246; after the war, 266.
 Toronto (tô-ron'tô), Can., 362.
 Torpedoes, their first use, 584; against the *Albatross*, 716; in Mobile Bay, 718.
 Travel, difficulties of. See Roads.
 Treasury Department, the, 298.
 Treaties, the treaty power, 281; Jay's treaty, 309; treaty of Ghent, 400; extradition treaties, 502; treaty of Washington, 777; the San Domingo treaty, 778; the Chinese treaty, 815; treaty of Paris, 885.
 Trem, the, arrested by the *San Jacinto*, 638.
 Trenton, N. J., Washington's retreat through, 210; breaks camp at, 212.
 Trevithick (trev'ith-ik), Richard, his locomotive, 429.
 Tripolitan War, the, 342, 404.
 Trusts, 838, 891.
 Truxton, Capt. Thomas, in command of the *Constellation*, 319.
 Tryon, Gov. William, 94.
 Tunis (tu'nîs), 342, 404.
 Turner, Nat., leader of unsuccessful negro insurrection, 462.
 Tuscaroras (tus-ka-rô'raz), an Indian tribe, 3; driven north to New York, 95.
 Tutuila (too-too-ô'lî), an island of the Samoan group, 894.
 Tyler, John, elected Vice-President, 498; becomes President, 500; vetoes the Bank Acts, 501; quarrels with the Whigs, 501; makes an unsuccessful treaty of annexation with Texas, 507; hurries the annexation, 516.
 UNITED STATES, location, 1; first visited by whites, 10; English colonization, 23, 25-31, foll.; the New

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

United States—Continued.

England Confederation, 66; general union of the colonies against the French, 145, 159; against taxation by Parliament, 166, 171, 177; against the use of force by Parliament, 191; against the king, and for entire independence, 204-5 (see Revolution, the American); independence acknowledged, 263; boundaries in 1783, 263; becomes a nation, 268; the Articles of Confederation, 270; their failure, 275; the Constitution formed, 279; ratified, 286; the United States in 1787, 288-92; the Constitution inaugurated, 294; first legislation, 297-8; parties, 303-4 (see Republican Party of 1792, Federal Party); the United States in 1795, 312-16; hostilities against France, 319; the United States in 1800, 324; the first great change of party government, 331-2; acquisition of Louisiana, 334; the steamboat, 337; the Tripolitan War, 342; difficulties with Great Britain, 343-50; war, 351; the United States in 1810, 353-5; failures in the North, 356-64; successes on the ocean, 365-77; on the lakes, 378-82; disasters on the Atlantic coast, 383-8; dissatisfaction at home, 389-90; successes in the North, 391-3; in the Southwest, 394-9; peace, 400-1; results of the War of 1812, 403; the United States in 1815, 405-8; acquisition of Florida, 414; the Missouri dispute, 415-18; the Monroe Doctrine, 420; the United States in 1824, 421-4; Free Trade and Protection, 425; invention of the railroad, 429 (see Railroads); the American System, 434; the United States in 1835, 449-65; political struggles under Jackson, 466-81; financial difficulties under Van Buren, 484-9; antislavery agitation, 492-4; the Mormons, 495; the log-cabin campaign of 1840, 498; the Oregon question, 504; rise of the Texas question, 505-6; the telegraph, 510; annexation of Texas, 515-16; the United States in 1845, 517-20; the Mexican War, 524-7; seizure of the Pacific Coast, 528-30; operations in Northern Mexico, 531-3; in Central Mexico, 534-42; peace, 543; summary of territorial acquisitions, 544; sectional strife over the Mexican acquisition, 545-56; gold discovered in California, 549-50; party changes, 558, 560; the United States in 1853, 564-6; naturalization questions, 567-8; Japan, 569; the Filibusters, 570; slavery and politics, 571-3; the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 574-83; rise of the Republican Party, 576; the Kansas struggle, 578-80; the United States in 1860, 588-95; how slavery had

United States—Continued.

pushed the sections apart, 596-607; the Dred Scott case, 599-602; parties in 1860, 608-9; secession, 610-3; the Confederate States, 614; the second great change in party government, 621; surrender of Fort Sumter, 622; Civil War, 623-7; the opposing lines in 1861, 628-9; military events of 1861, 630-7; the Trent affair, 638; military events of 1862 in the West, 639-48; on the coast, 649-55; in the East, 656-68; Emancipation, 669; financial affairs, 670; privateering, 672; military events of 1863 in the East, 674-8; in the West, 679-87; on the coast, 688; the West, 679-87; on the coast, 688; the United States in 1863, 690-3; intervention of France in Mexico, 695; military events of 1864 in the East, 699-705; in the West, 706-14; on the coast, 715-18; on the ocean, 720; the United States in 1864, 721-6; conclusion of the war, 727-35; assassination of the President, 736-9; military summary of the war, 740-9; acquisition of Alaska, 773; Reconstruction, 753-64 (see Reconstruction); impeachment of President Johnson, 765-8; the treaty of Washington, 776-7; the United States in 1876, 780-7; the disputed election of 1876, 797-802; the United States in 1878, 804-9; the silver question, 810-2, 865; resumption, 813; refunding, 814; assassination of President Garfield, 818; the United States in 1884, 820-6; in 1888, 840; the Panama Canal, 834; the United States in 1885, 841-8; relations with Cuba grow acute, 873; war declared against Spain, 879; preparations for war, 880; naval victory at Manila, 881; military operations in Cuba, 882, 884; occupation of Porto Rico, 883; peace with Spain, 885; annexation of Hawaii, 888; government support of Pacific railroads ended, 890; partition of Samoan Islands, 894; the Hague peace conference, 897; war in the Philippines, 900; government of the Philippines, 901; administrative measures in Cuba, 902; free trade denied to Porto Rico, 904
United States, the, captures the *Macedonian*, 368.
 Universal Suffrage, 789.
 Uplandt (oop'lahnt), Pa., 123.
 Utah (yoo'tah), a Territory, 555 (see Mormons); admitted as a State, 862.

VALLEY Forge, 217.

Valparaiso (vahl-pah-ri'so), 373, 850.

Vane, Sir Henry, 50.

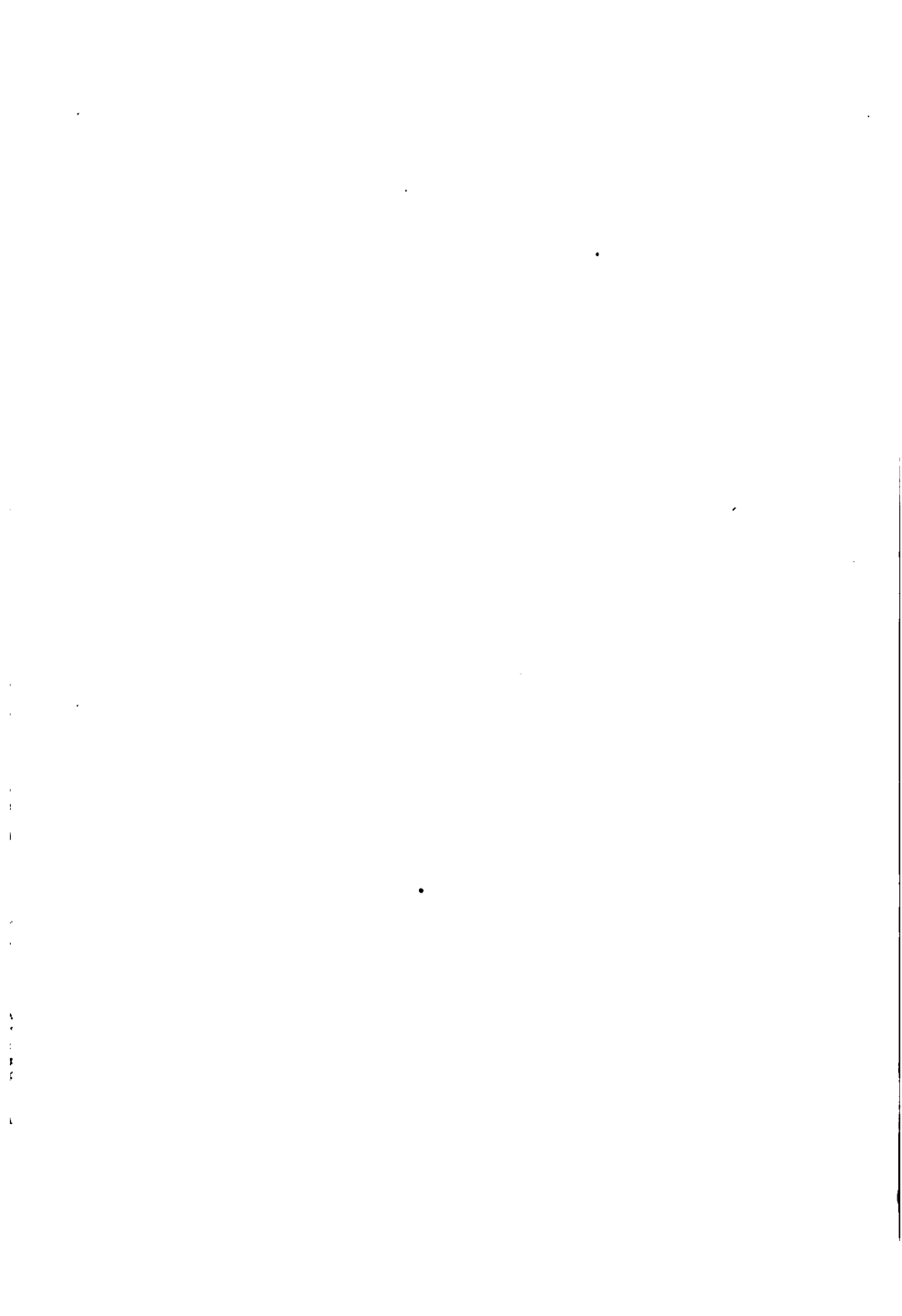
Van Buren, Martin, elected Vice-President, 473; President, 480; defeated in 1840, 498; in 1848, 548; not nominated in 1844, 515.

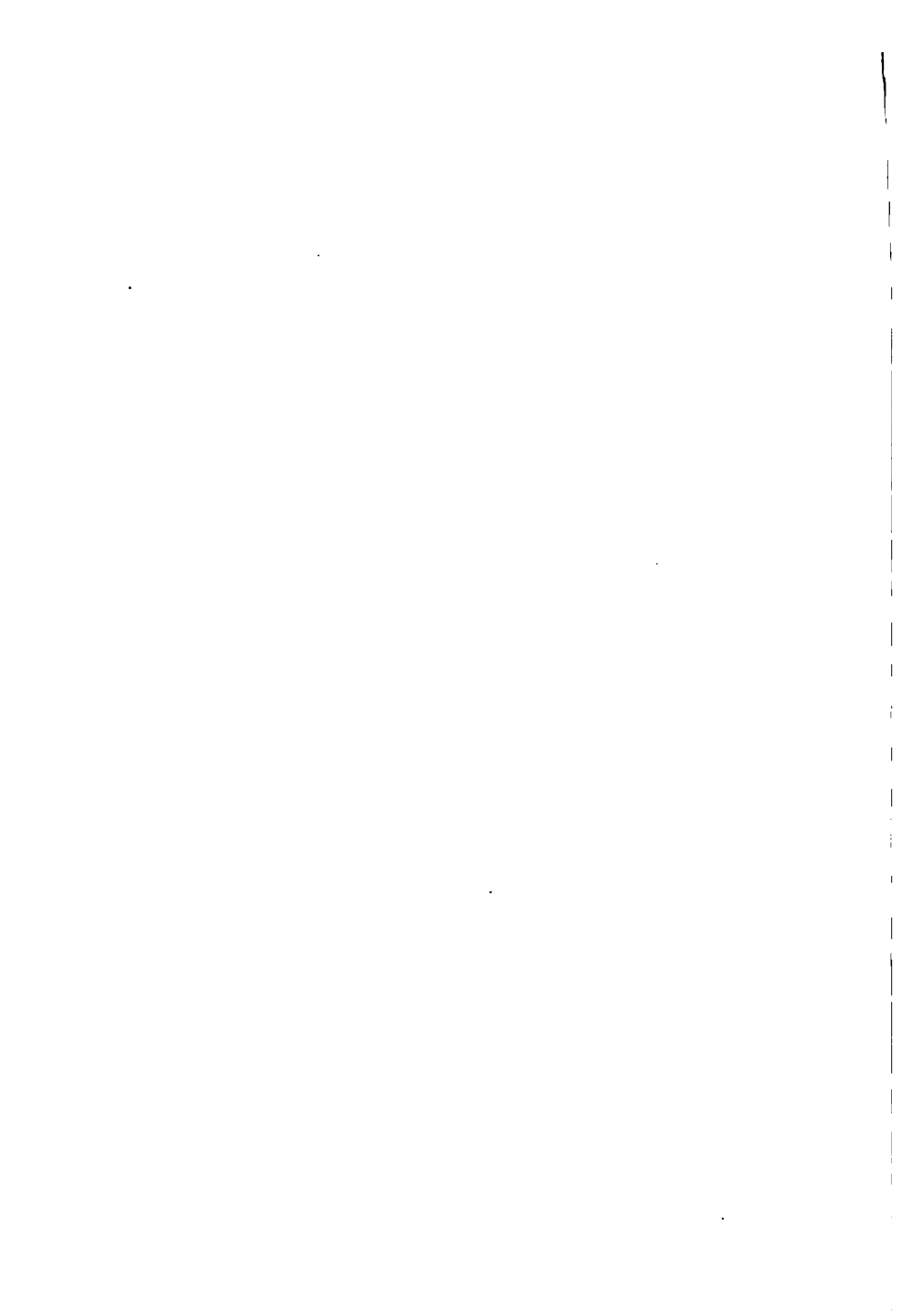
 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Van Twiller, Wouter, governor, 109.
 Venezuela, 861.
 Vera Cruz (vá'rah kroos), Mex., taken by Scott, 534-5.
 Vermont, part of the Plymouth Company's grant, 33; early history, 65; slavery forbidden, 188; Vermonters seize Ticonderoga, 199; repulse a British expedition at Bennington, 220; not yet recognized by Congress, 220; admitted, 302.
 Verrazzani (veR-Rat-sah'nô), 11.
 Vespucci (ves-poot'chè), Amerigo, gives a name to America, 8.
 Veto Power, the, belongs to the President, 281, 469, note; how President Johnson lost the advantage of it, 759, 765; Cleveland's use of it, 830.
 Vicksburgh, Miss., Grant's first movement toward it, 646; its fortifications, 655; besieged by Grant, 680-2; surrenders, 682.
 Vice-President, the, his duties, 282; mode of election, 295.
 Vincennes (vin-senz'), Ind., a French post, 139; taken by Clarke, 235.
 Virginia, probably visited by Cabot, 10; named by Raleigh, 23; difference between Raleigh's "Virginia" and the modern State, 27; part of the London Company's grant, 32; becomes a royal colony, 35; slavery, 39; first settlement, 76; John Smith, 77; western claims, 79, 271; the "Old Dominion," 80, note; Bacon's Rebellion, 82; life in Virginia, 83-4, 108; organizes the first Ohio Company, 141; endeavors to drive away the French, 142-4; calls for the Stamp Act Congress, 166; Virginia in 1775 and 1880, 184; calls for independence, 205; conquers the Northwest Territory, 235; military operations in the State, 252, 255, 258-61; cedes the western claims to the United States, 273; calls for the Federal Convention, 278; ratifies the Constitution, 286; negro insurrection of 1831, 462; John Brown's raid, 604; secedes, 626; one of the Confederate States, 628 (see West Virginia); military operations in the State begin, 628 (see United States); rejects the first terms of reconstruction, 762 (electoral votes not counted in 1868), 768, note; reconstructed and readmitted, 768.
 Virginia City, Nev., discovery of silver, 590.
 Virginia, the. See *Merrimac*.
 Virginius, the, seized by a Spanish war vessel, 779.
 Vote, the right to, 789.
 Vulcanized rubber, invented, 491.
 Wachusett (wo-choo'set), the, captures the Florida, 720.
 Walker, William, 570, note.
 Wampanoags (wom-pa-nô'agz), an Indian tribe, 68.
 War Department, the, 298; investigation of the charges against it, 896.
 Warner, Seth, at Bernington, 220.
 War Power, the, the power to declare and make war, 281; exercised against Great Britain, 351; against Mexico, 527; the Civil War, 625; the Spanish War, 879; war in the Philippines, 900.
 Warren, Gen. Joseph, killed at Bunker Hill, 196, note.
 War revenue act of 1868, 886.
 Warwick (wor'rik), R. I., settlement, 62.
 Washington, D. C., named as the national capital, 299; capital removed thither, 324; burned by the British, 386; its safety secured in 1861, 623; in the line of war, 629; its fortifications, 633; threatened by the *Merrimac*, 650; necessity of protecting it, 657, 659; threatened by Jackson, 662; by Jackson and Lee, 664; by Early, 703; general review at the capital, 735.
 Washington, George, sent to Presque Isle, 142; against Fort Duquesne, 143; surrenders Fort Necessity, 144; one of Braddock's aids, 146; member of the Continental Congress, 192-3; appointed to command the American armies, 191; takes command at Cambridge, 197; drives the British from Boston, 198; moves his army to New York, 208; is defeated on Long Island, 209; retreats beyond White Plains, 209; through New Jersey, 210; Congress makes him dictator and retires, 211; wins the battles of Trenton and Princeton, 212; holds northern New Jersey, 213; moves his army to Philadelphia, 215; defeated at Chad's Ford and Germantown, 216; his winter quarters at Valley Forge, 217; scheme to take the command away from him, 223; fights the drawn battle of Monmouth, 228; holds the British in New York City, 229; his difficulties, 234, 256; marches to Yorktown, 257-8; besieges and captures it, 260-1; favors the Federal Convention, 278; is made its President, 279; is elected President, 287; inaugurated, 294; re-elected, 304; requests recall of Genet, 306; suppresses Whiskey Insurrection, 307; Farewell Address, 310; recalled to the head of the army, 319; death, 325.
 Washingtonian Societies, 460.
 Washington (State), 835.
 Washington, treaty of, 777.
 Wasp, the, takes the Frolic, 368; the *Reindeer* and *Avon*, 374.

 The references are to Sections, not to pages.

- Watling's Island, 6.
 Watson, Thomas E., defeated for Vice-President, 865.
 Waxhaws, battle of the, 247.
 Wayne (wanc), Gen. Anthony, at Stony Point, 237; defeats the Indians, 308.
 Weather Bureau, the, 821.
 Weaver, Gen. J. B., nominated for President, 854.
 Webster, Daniel, 459; a leader of the Whig Party, 471; desired for President, 480; his share in the extradition treaty, 501; death, 558.
 Webster, Noah, 457.
Weehawken (wē-haw'ken), the, takes the *Atlanta*, 688.
 West, A. M., nominated for President, 826, note.
 West, Benjamin, a painter, 187.
 Western Pacific Railway, 890.
 Western Reserve, the, 273.
 West Florida, 154.
 West Indies, the, discovered by Columbus, 6; French possessions in, 230, 266.
 West Virginia, rejects secession, 626; the Confederates driven out of it, 630; admission, 694.
 Wethersfield, Conn., settlement, 58.
 Weyler (vily-lärr'), Gen. Valeriano, Governor-General of Cuba, 873; recalled, 874.
 Wheeler, Wm. A., nominated for Vice-President, 797; his election disputed, 798; decision, 801.
 Whig Party, the supporters of the American System, 434; at first take the name of National Republicans, 437; defeated in 1838, 438; support the Bank, 471; defeated in 1832, 473; take the name of Whigs, 479; defeated in 1836, 480; successful in 1840, 498; demand another Bank, 501; quarrel with the President, 501; defeated in 1844, 515; oppose the Mexican War, 527; successful in 1848, 548; the party goes to pieces, 560; completely defeated in 1852, 563; disappears, 572; succeeded by the Republican Party, 576.
 Whigs, in the Revolution, 170; in the South, 246; in England, 479.
 Whipping, punishment by, 461.
 Whiskey Insurrection, the, 307.
 Whiskey Ring, the, 794.
 Whitefield (whit'feeld), George, a revivalist, 133.
 White, Hugh L., nominated for President, 480.
 White, John, leader of one of Raleigh's colonies, 23.
 White Plains, battle of, 209.
 Whitney, Eli, his cotton-gin, 316.
 Whittier, John G., his literary work, 457.
 Wildcat banks, 484-5.
 Wilderness Campaign, the, 701-2.
 Wilkinson, Gen. James, 363.
 William and Mary College, 84.
 William (of Orange), King, 42.
 Williamsburgh, battle of, 659.
 Williamsburgh, Va., 82.
 Williams, Roger, banished, 51; settles in Rhode Island, 62.
 Wilmington, Del., 29.
 Wilmington, N. C., held by Cornwallis, 253, 255; recovered by the Americans, 261; a port for blockade-runners, 652, 715; taken by the Union forces, 716.
 Willmot Proviso, the, 546.
 Wilson tariff bill, 859.
 Wilson, Henry, Vice-President, 796.
 Wilson's Creek, battle of, 635.
 Winchester, battle of, 705.
 Winchester, Gen. James, 359.
 Windsor (win'zur), Conn., settlement, 58.
 Winslow, Capt. John A., in command of the *Kearsarge*, 720.
 Winthrop, John, of Massachusetts, 49.
 Winthrop, Jr., John, of Connecticut, 61.
 Wisconsin, claimed by Virginia, 271; a wilderness in 1828, 430; admission, 522; forest fires, 784.
 Witchcraft, the Salem, 53.
 Withlacoochee (with-la-coo'chee), River, the, 463.
 Wolfe, Gen. James, at Quebec, 150-1.
 Wood, Gen. Leonard, Governor-General of Cuba, 902.
 Woodford, Gen. Stewart L., minister to Spain, 873.
 Wool, Gen. John E., 531.
 Worcester (woo'ster), Mass., 276.
 World's Fair at Chicago, 845.
 Wyoming (wi-o'ming), Pa., plundered by Tories and Indians, 232; claimed by Connecticut, 273.
 Wyoming, admitted to the Union, 846.
 YALE COLLEGE, founded, 75.
 Yazoo River, the, 681.
 Yellow-fever, the, 808, 902.
 Yeo, Sir James L., in command of the British fleet on Lake Ontario, 380.
 York, Can., 362, 386, note.
 York, Pa., 217.
 York River, the, 255, 657.
 Yorktown, Va., seized and fortified by Cornwallis, 255; besieged by Washington and Rochambeau, 260; surrendered, 261; taken by the Union forces, 659; anniversary of Cornwallis's surrender, 820.
 ZOLLICOFFER (zol'li-kof-fer), GEN. FELIX, killed at Mill Spring, 640.





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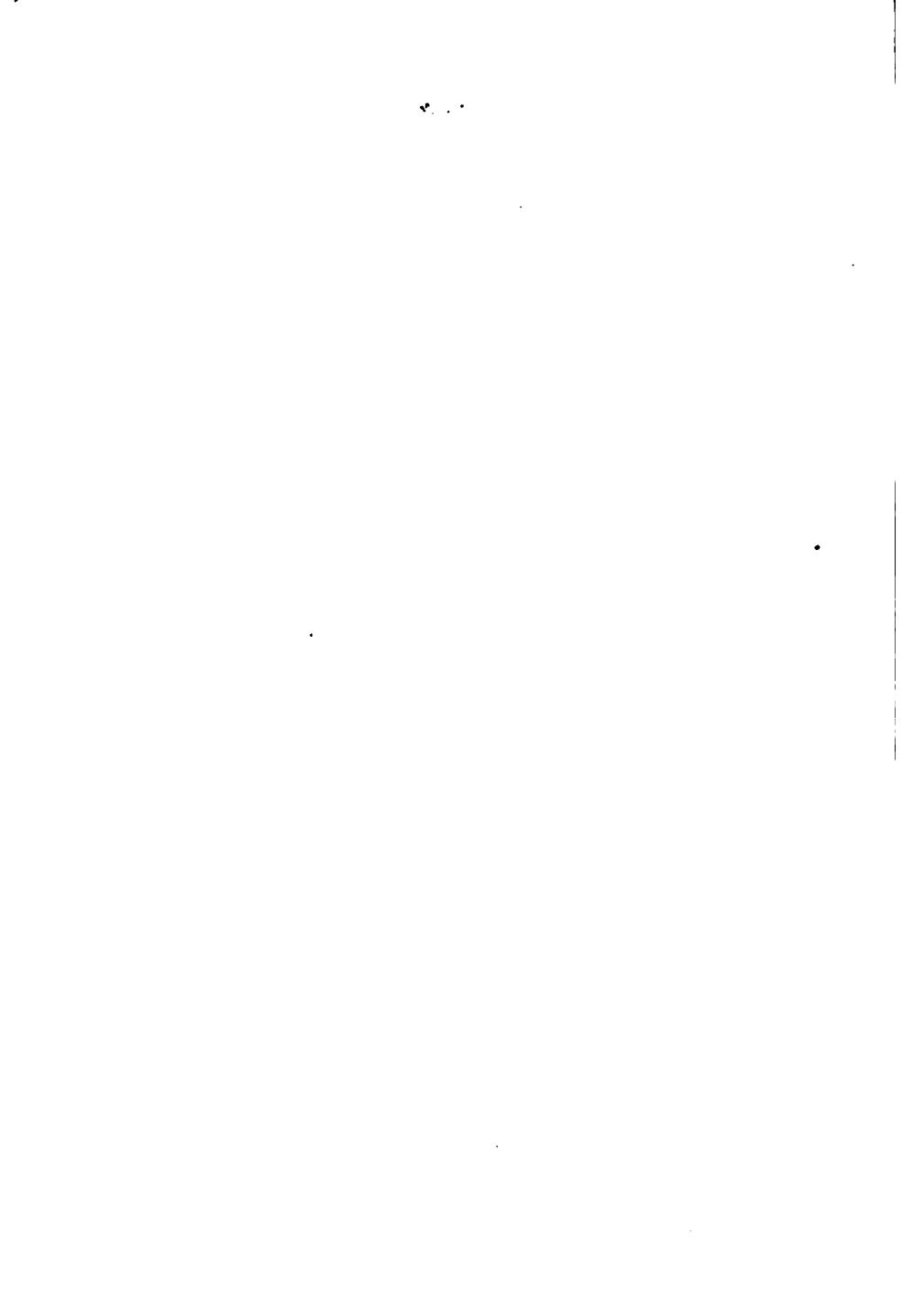
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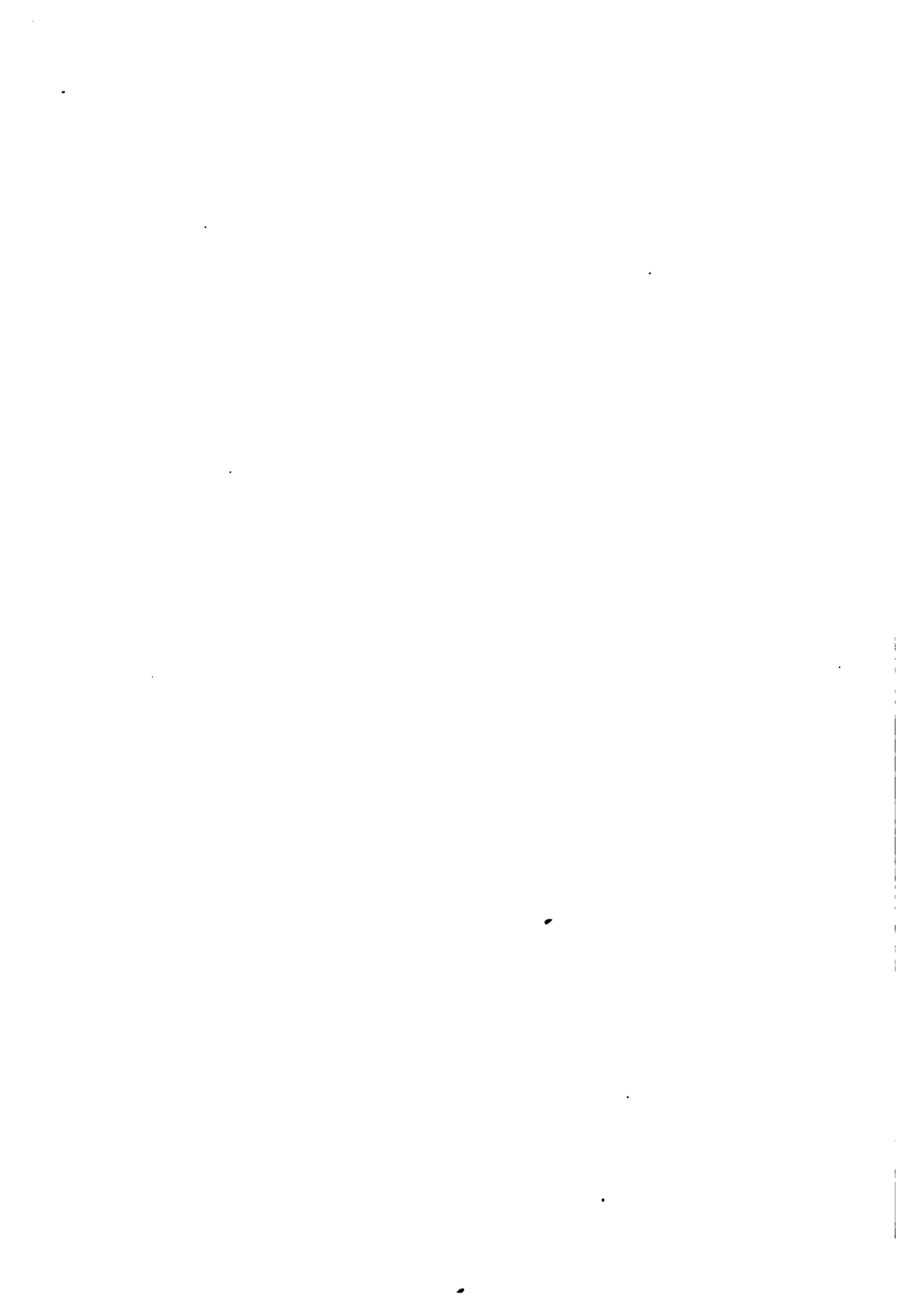
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